HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKL WASHINGTO REPORT

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Conservative Resurgence

LBJ Suffers Stunning Setback

In view of the sweeping gains scored by the GOP in the mid-term elections last week, Republicans across the nation are now convinced that current dissatisfaction with the "Great Society" will enable them to capture the White House just two years hence.

Former Vice President Richard Nixon has charged that the stunning Democratic defeat on November 8 is the "sharpest rebuff to a President in a generation," and LBJ's initial silence on the outcome is said to betray his deep concern over his own political future. Jittery Democrats are already saying that LBJ "must go" by 1968 or the GOP will move into 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Here is a summary of the sharp losses inflicted on the Democrats:

• The Republican resurgence of 1966 increased the GOP voice in the nation's 50 statehouses to its strongest point of the decade. Nailing down 10 previously held Democratic governorships (with Georgia still in doubt), the GOP managed to gain control of at least half the governorships in the country. In terms of political power it definitely has the edge over the Democrats. The Republicans laid 15 of their governorships on the line in the election and retained all but Kansas and Maine. They took over the statehouse in Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Florida, Maryland, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada and New Mexico.

• Republicans gained three Senate seats, thus reducing the Democratic total from 67 to 64.

• Of 44 freshman Democrats who rode the Johnson coat-tails in 1964, at least 20 have been dumped—and those that remain include several men whose support for LBJ has been waning fast in recent months.

• In the House the Republicans captured a whopping 47 seats to make the lineup in the 90th Congress 248-187 in favor of the Democrats. The 47-seat GOP gain in the House was significantly higher than the 33-seat average for mid-term elections since 1934 and more than recouped the 38-seat loss Republicans sustained in 1964.

It was even higher than the 41-seat average turnover in off-term elections since 1890, the figure LBJ had chosen to use for a standard of comparison.

The Washington *Post's* political reporter David Broder also noted:

"The loss was even larger than the net 47-seat GOP gain indicated, because Democrats actually lost 52 seats and four of their five pickups were Southern Democrats, barely more friendly to the President's programs than the Republicans they replaced."

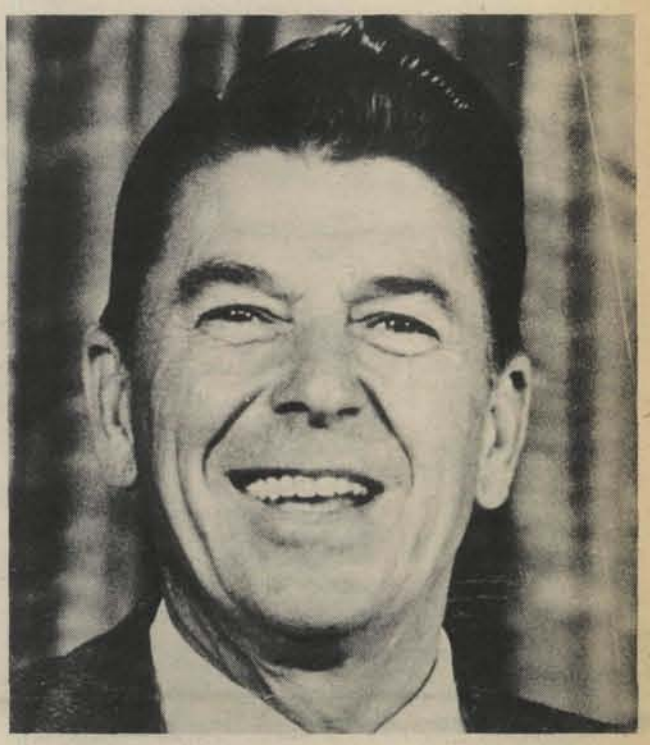
The astonishing comeback of Republicans in the House, moreover, should grind the "Great Society" steamroller to a halt and could possibly jeopardize the future of such LBJ innovations as rent subsidies, the teacher corps and demonstration cities projects.

House minority leader Rep. Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.), who watched LBJ legislation zip through the Congress last year, exults that now it's a "brand-new ball game." With some 50 Southern Democrats usually voting with the Republicans, the old GOP-Dixie coalition should be able to muster a sufficient majority in the House to kill any new wild-spending scheme and projected radical legislation.

If the new, conservative-minded coalition has the courage, it can also refuse to appropriate money for spending projects authorized by previous legislation.

Political pundits to the contrary, conservative Republicans made sweeping advances in this off-term election:

Ronald Reagan, who leaped into political prominence over two years ago with a dramatic pro-Goldwater speech, managed to wrest the governorship of the most populous state of the Union from Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown. Clobbering the liberal Brown by close to a million votes, Reagan carried into office at least three of his running mates, helped elect three new Republican congressmen and brought new Republican gains into the state legislature. In all probability Reagan will also control the delegation to the GOP nominating convention in 1968—a factor that bodes well for conservative Republicans.



In the year's top race of conservative interest, former actor Ronald Reagan had his biggest opening night ever, ousting Gov. Edmund "Pat" Brown by nearly one million votes and carrying most of his state ticket into office with him.

• Conservative Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.), another Goldwater Republican who assailed big government spending and inflation, garnered 57 per cent of the vote to win re-election over Texas Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr. Carr had received considerable White House support in his attempts to oust the conservative Tower and told voters he was amenable to supporting "Great Society" legislation. Not only did Tower score a resounding victory, but his presence on the GOP ticket helped elect two new conservative Republicans to Congress—the only Texas Republicans in the House.

• Conservatives also scored a smashing upset victory in Florida when Jacksonville banker Claude R. Kirk Jr., a Goldwater-type conservative, soundly whipped liberal Miami Mayor Robert King High for governor of the Sunshine State. Kirk received 55 per cent of the vote. Kirk pledged to rid Florida of "high taxes, high inflation, high crime rates, all those Highs." Kirk stated during the campaign: "The rest of the people in the nation are watching Florida to see if we elect a man such as I, who believes in the principles upon which our nation was founded, or a man who espouses the political philosophy of an ultra-liberal."

(Continued on page 3)

Human Events readers will be interested to know that of the 74 contests covered in our "Races of the Week" section, conservatives were victorious in 45—a 61 per cent batting average. For complete election returns, see pages 12 and 13.

In the special Texas election in 1961, GOP Sen. John Tower squeaked into office to become the first Republican senator elected from the Old Confederacy since Reconstruction. This time he won an impressive 57 per cent of the vote.

President Johnson begged Nebraska's Gov. Frank Morrison to run against GOP Sen. Carl Curtis, a staunch Goldwater backer. Curtis, thought at one time to be vulnerable, walked off with 61 per cent of the vote.

In 1962 Democrat Karl Rolvaag was elected governor of Minnesota by 91 votes after many months of recounts. This year—despite Vice President Humphrey's help—he didn't have to wait so long to learn that conservative Republican Harold LeVander had beaten him by 65,000 votes.

Wyoming's Gov. Clifford Hansen decided earlier this year to run for the seat being vacated by Sen. Milward Simpson (R.). Democratic Rep. Teno Roncalio had the same idea. Wyoming voters chose Hansen to go to Washington.

Claude R. Kirk Jr. made political history last week by becoming the first Republican governor of Florida. He defeated liberal Miami Mayor Robert King High, a Bobby Kennedy protege, by nearly 150,000 votes.

Liberal Republicans cried that Don Samuelson's primary defeat of GOP liberal Gov. Robert Smylie in Idaho would turn the statehouse over to the Democrats. But despite independent candidates, Samuelson won comfortably.

See page 7 for

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, a top contender for the GOP presidential nomination in 1968, came off covered with glory following the elections. Eight of the 10 gubernatorial candidates, eight of the 10 Senate candidates and 49 of the 73 House candidates for whom he appeared turned up in the winner's circle after the counting of the ballots. As a result, a lot of old pros are reconsidering the old shibboleth that Nixon just "can't win."

● Organized labor took a beating as nearly 50 COPE-backed congressmen went down to defeat. In all, COPE elected only 55 per cent of its candidates, down from 66 per cent two years ago. Nine senators who received labor aid were victorious but 13 lost. Two years ago COPE elected 24 of 30 senatorial nominees.

● The GOP chalked up some startling gains in the state legislatures around the country. With returns still incomplete, the Republicans had captured 667 state legislative seats, winning approximately 150 more than they lost in 1964. Whereas the GOP controlled both houses of the legislatures in only six states in 1965, it has now gained control of 15. As for Republican control of the lower houses, the figure has risen from 8 to 22 with one tied.

● The 1966 elections will not be pleasing to either Hanoi or Peking. Sixteen of the newly elected Republican House members took a harder line on Viet Nam than the Democrats they defeated. Another 16 Democrats who went down to defeat had been signers of one or more of three joint statements advocating moderation of the war in one form or another. The Washington **Post** notes: "Thus men who will occupy at least 32 of the net margin of around 45 GOP House seats rate as more hawkish than their predecessors."

● Prior to the election the National Committee to End the War in Viet Nam compiled a list of more than 30 "peace" candidates running for Congress. Six incumbent peaceniks, all Democrats, were reelected but their winning margins were down from 1966. No insurgent was successful. Among the failures: Charles Porter, the ultra-liberal Oregon Democrat who ran in a district with a solid edge in Democratic registration.

● Ronald Reagan hadn't been elected governor for 24 hours when he was savagely attacked by **Pravda**, the official Communist party publication in the Soviet Union.

● Because of the increase in conservative-minded lawmakers in the House, Republicans may try to re-establish the power of the House Rules Committee, which, before the liberals stripped it of authority, could prevent radical legislation from coming to the House floor. The new chairman of the Rules Committee, William Colmer (D.-Miss.), is as conservative as "Judge" Howard Smith, who was defeated in the Democratic primary earlier this year.

● Florida Republicans will make an all-out drive for George Smathers' Senate seat two years hence. Smathers has announced his retirement and Democrats are expected to stage a bloody primary for the right to succeed him. Democratic hopefuls include former Governors LeRoy Collins and Farris Bryant, Congressmen Charles Bennett and Claude Pepper, and Mayor Robert King High, who was defeated for governor last week. Possible GOP nominees include Representatives William Cramer and Ed Gurney.

● One of the most remarkable House victories was scored by former Rep. Gene Snyder, a Goldwater Republican running in Kentucky's 4th District. Snyder's opponent, John J. Moloney, died 48 hours before the election and local Democrats nominated Frank Chelf, the immensely popular dean of the Kentucky delegation who had announced his intention to retire. Snyder defeated Chelf by more than 10,000 votes.

● New York's under-financed Conservative party racked up an amazing vote in the Tuesday elections. The party's little-known gubernatorial nominee, Paul Adams, polled more than half a million votes and came within a few thousand votes of topping Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr., Liberal party nominee for governor. Roosevelt, proud possessor of a magic name in New York politics, spent more than 10 times what Adams did, which makes the Conservative showing all the more remarkable.

● The defeat for the Democrats was so resounding last week that rumors are already going around that LBJ is seriously considering not running again in 1968.

● GOP liberals lost one prize governorship on November 8: that held by Gov. John H. Reed of Maine. Reed, who lost to Democrat Kenneth M. Curtis, was a supporter of Gov. George Romney and was considered to be dominated by organized labor.

● Communist theoretician Herbert Aptheker's bid for Congress failed last week. Running in Brooklyn's 12th District, Aptheker could manage to win only 2,876 votes out of a total of 118,274 cast. The district is represented by Rep. Edna F. Kelly, who won handily over her GOP opponent.

● Reports from California contend that Sen. Thomas Kuchel, the Golden State's very liberal Republican, may face tough primary opposition in 1968 because of his refusal to endorse Ronald Reagan during the campaign.

● George A. Zimmerman, who started the Romney-for-President Clubs in 1966, announced last week that he has reactivated clubs in 20 states. Zimmerman, 41, vice president of a computer manufacturing firm, organized the Romney-for-President Clubs in 1963 and disbanded them in 1964.

● New York Mayor John Lindsay, the idol of GOP liberals, suffered a sharp setback when Gothamites rejected by a 5-to-3 margin an amendment on the ballot which would have established a civilian review board. Lindsay avidly campaigned for it—as did New York Senators Jacob Javits and Bobby Kennedy.

● In spite of LBJ's setback, he will still push for new programs in the next session of Congress. Watch for a drive to increase Social Security. Treasury officials, it is known, are already working on a proposal to finance Social Security benefits from general revenues rather than through the payroll tax.

● Two months prior to the election, the Democratic National Committee prevented the Young Democratic Clubs of America from distributing a policy resolution attacking the Administration's Viet Nam policy. Copies of the resolution, however, were widely circulated by the left-wing Students for a Democratic Society.

● Voters in Bakersfield, Calif., rejected participation in Sargent Shriver's "War on Poverty" by a margin of 2 to 1. Anti-poverty officials concede privately they would have suffered similar rebukes from coast to coast if the program had been on the ballot.

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Mac the Knife

A new congressional investigation of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's competence may begin in January as a result of the disclosure last week, by McNamara himself, that the Soviets are deploying a *third generation* anti-missile missile system around all their major cities. Dr. Edward Teller, father of the H-bomb, has said that the country which first deploys a missile system that can knock down incoming missiles will win the cold war.

Since 1961 Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), who has just won re-election by a whopping majority, has warned the country that the Soviets were setting up an anti-missile missile system. Defense Secretary McNamara has pooh-poohed his warnings and resisted every effort to initiate the setting up of a defense system around our own cities.

Military experts say that the United States, even if it began deploying a defensive system against missiles, couldn't get it set up before 1970. Why, some lawmakers want to know, didn't McNamara and the Pentagon warn the American people and the Congress a long time ago about the large-scale Soviet deployment of an anti-missile missile system? Why did McNamara try to ridicule Sen. Thurmond and others who apparently knew of Soviet efforts in this field for at least five years? And why couldn't the American people have been made aware of Soviet accomplishments in this field before the election?

Human Events Winners

Human Events readers who rooted for the conservative candidates spotlighted in our "Races of the Week" feature will be happy to know that of the 74 races we covered, 45, or 61 per cent, will sit in the 90th Congress which convenes in January. Many of our readers gave time, effort and money to these candidates and should be pleased to see their work rewarded. A list of those who wound up in the winner's circle follows:

Allott (Colo.), Ashbrook (Ohio), Baker (Tenn.), Brock (Tenn.), Brotzman (Colo.), Broyhill (Va.), Burke (Fla.), Bush (Tex.), Curtis (Neb.), Dellenbach (Ore.), Gardner (N.C.), Goodling (Pa.), Griffin (Mich.), Gross (Iowa), Hansen (Wyo.), Harrison (Wyo.), Hunt (N.J.), Jordan (Idaho), Kleppe (N.D.), Kuykendall (Tenn.), Kyl (Iowa), Lloyd (Utah), Lukens (Ohio), Mayne (Iowa), McClure (Idaho), Meskill (Conn.), Miller (Ohio), Mundt (S.D.), Myers (Ind.), Pettis (Calif.), Price (Tex.), Railsback (Ill.), Riegle (Mich.), Sandman (N.J.), Schadeberg (Wis.), Scherle (Iowa), Scott (Va.), Smith (Okla.), Snyder (Ky.), Steiger (Ariz.), Steiger (Wis.), Taft (Ohio), Wyman (N.H.), Zion (Ind.) and Zwach (Minn.).

The GOP in 1968?

As a result of the Democratic debacle, Republicans are convinced they can wrest the White House from control of President Johnson in 1968. Not only did the Democrats fare badly in the mid-term elections, but they are now seriously divided, a situation that is bound to aid the GOP.

In some areas—notably the Midwest—there are rumblings of a revolt against the President and talk of a new presidential candidate two years hence. "That may be the only solution for us," said a party chairman in the Corn Belt to a Washington *Post* reporter.

In Illinois, Sen. Paul Douglas' defeat is being blamed in part on a Negro rebellion that threatens Mayor Richard Daley's re-election chances next year. Daley, Chicago's so-called "boss," just couldn't deliver. Apart from failing to stop Republican Charles Percy in the Senate race, the Daley organization lost in

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

several Chicago races. The only statewide Democratic victor in Illinois was Adlai Stevenson III, who ran for state treasurer as an anti-Daley insurgent.

In California the party is so badly divided that Democrats are thinking of deposing political boss Jesse Unruh as speaker of the state assembly. The election revealed serious weaknesses in other industrial states such as Michigan and Pennsylvania, where Republicans picked up a huge chunk of state and congressional offices. As long as the Democrats continue bickering, 1968 could be another GOP year.

Midwest Comeback

One of the biggest stories of the 1966 campaign is the tremendous comeback staged by Midwest Republicans. Party fortunes in the 12-state region hit low ebb in 1964, when Lyndon Johnson carried every state and carried 19 new congressmen into office.

Modest GOP gains were forecast for 1966 (the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* predicted a pick-up of 10 House seats) but the Republican tide was overwhelming. The Republicans gained 21 House seats and scored sweeping gains in the legislative and courthouse races.

Illinois: Republican Chuck Percy scored a major triumph, unseating three-term Sen. Paul Douglas by more than 400,000 votes. Conservative Richard Ogilvie led a GOP offensive in "Boss" Daley's Cook County (see page 5). Republican Thomas Railsback, an outspoken critic of the "Great Society," defeated freshman Rep. Gale Schisler.

Indiana: Hoosier Republicans scored their greatest gains in a decade. Outspent 3 to 1, GOP nominees captured every statewide office (secretary of state, treasurer, auditor, superintendent of schools, court clerk) by margins of more than 100,000 votes. The GOP picked up two House seats as conservative Roger Zion defeated the veteran Rep. Winfield K. Denton, an Administration rubber stamp, and Covington banker John Myers won the new 7th District seat by more than 12,000 votes.

Iowa: Republicans unseated four of the five freshman Democrats elected two years ago. Only Rep. John Culver survived as colleagues Bandstra, Greigg, Schmidhauser and Hansen went down the drain. GOP Rep. H. R. Gross, elected by 419 votes two years ago, won by 25,000 this time out. Republican Sen. Jack Miller easily won a second term.

Kansas: Only here could Midwest Democrats claim a triumph. Republican Gov. William Avery, whose popularity plummeted after he pushed through a statewide tax increase last year, was defeated by Democrat Robert Docking, son of the late Gov. George Docking. Republicans retained the state's five congressional seats and GOP Sen. James Pearson easily defeated Democrat J. Floyd Breeding.

Michigan: As predicted, George Romney was re-elected governor in a landslide, but the big news was GOP Sen. Robert Griffin's victory over "Soapy" Williams and the five House seats picked up by the Republicans. Democratic incumbents Weston E. Vivian, Paul Todd, John Mackie, Billie S. Farnum and Raymond Clevenger were knocked off in the Republican sweep.

Minnesota: Republicans won almost every state office as St. Paul attorney Harold LeVander ousted Democratic Gov. Karl Rolvaag. Republican John Zwach, majority leader of the Minnesota State Senate, unseated Rep. Alec Olson, an Administration flunky.

Missouri: Both Republican congressmen, Thomas Curtis and Durward Hall, were re-elected easily. There were no statewide contests.

Nebraska: Republican Sen. Carl Curtis, marked for defeat by LBJ, scored an overwhelming victory over popular Democratic Gov. Harold Hughes. Republican Norbert T. Tiemann, a political newcomer, captured the governship by trouncing Lt. Gov. Philip C. Sorensen, brother of former Kennedy aide Ted Sorensen. Former GOP state chairman Robert Denney defeated Democratic Rep. Clair Callan, whose re-election had been widely predicted.

North Dakota: Republican Thomas Kleppe unseated freshman Rep. Rolland Redlin after a hard-hitting campaign in which he labeled the freshman Democrat an Administration errand boy.

Ohio: Buckeye Republicans, led by Gov. Jim Rhodes, reduced the state's Democratic party to shambles. Rhodes won re-election by a record 700,000 votes and the Republicans scored massive victories in courthouse and legislative races. The state's congressional delegation, formerly 14 to 10 in favor

Continued from page 1

LBJ Suffers Stunning Setback

• Sen. Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.), a conservative Republican, gathered 61 per cent of the vote in defeating ex-Gov. Fred Morrison, an LBJ Democrat whom the President had asked to run against the Nebraskan senator. LBJ reportedly desired to knock Curtis off because Curtis had irked LBJ by his probe of the Bobby Baker affair. The Republicans also picked up another House seat in the Cornhusker State.

• Conservatives also picked up governorships in Arizona, Idaho and Nevada. John R. (Jack) Williams, strongly backed by Barry Goldwater and Sen. Paul Fannin, captured the governorship in Arizona from Democrat Samuel P. Goddard. Goldwater Republican Don Samuelson, after having defeated moderate GOP Gov. Robert Smylie in the primary, went on to win the governorship in the general election, even as the "moderates" were knifing him. Lt. Gov. Paul Laxalt of Nevada, considered a conservative, also downed Democratic Gov. Grant Sawyer in the November election.

• Harold E. LeVander, a St. Paul attorney, considered a good conservative, soundly defeated Minnesota Gov. Karl F. Rolvaag and severely damaged Vice President Hubert Humphrey's political reputation in the process. Humphrey laid his prestige on the line by going all out for Rolvaag. By ignoring the advice of GOP "moderates" who wanted LeVander to denounce "extremists" in his own party, LeVander not only managed to win himself, but helped the Republicans make a near clean sweep of state offices. The Republicans also picked up an additional House seat in the Gopher State.

• Gov. Clifford P. Hansen (R.-Wyo.), a conservative who strongly supported right-to-work, won a seat for the U.S. Senate against freshman Rep. Teno Roncalio, an ultra-liberal Democrat who had the strong support of the Kennedy brothers. Former U.S. Rep. William Henry Harrison, a staunch conservative, was elected to Congress over state Rep. Al Christian, a liberal.

Staunch conservatives also captured the majority of new House seats won by the Republicans. Typical of those who won: Donald E. ("Buz") Lukens (Ohio), a Goldwater Republican who was the former head of the Young Republican National Federation; Charles Sandman (N.J.), a Goldwater delegate to the 1964 GOP convention; Robert B. ("Bob") Mathias (Calif.), former Olympic decathlon star; and M. G. ("Gene") Snyder (Ky.), a Goldwater conservative who lost his House seat in 1964.

The November 8 election, in short, is not only a blow to LBJ and the "Great Society," but reveals a sharp rise in conservative sentiment around the country.

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• *Who does better in carrying the big cities—conservative Republicans or liberal Republicans? In last week's election conservative gubernatorial candidate Ronald Reagan carried the city of Los Angeles by 335,000 votes. Liberal Republicans, however, didn't do as well. Gov. George Romney lost Detroit by 37,000; Gov. Nelson Rockefeller (who couldn't carry anyone in on his coat-tails) lost New York City to Democrat Frank O'Connor by 65,000 votes; and Senator-elect Charles Percy lost Chicago by 132,000 votes.*

of the Republicans, is now 19 to 5. In the only House election in which two incumbents faced each other, Republican John Ashbrook crushed Democrat Robert Secrest by 15,000 votes.

South Dakota: Republican Sen. Karl Mundt, who won six years ago with 52 per cent of the vote, was re-elected by 2 to 1. Gov. Nils Boe and both GOP congressmen were re-elected by huge margins.

Wisconsin: Republican Gov. Warren Knowles easily defeated Democrat Patrick J. Lucey as the GOP picked up two more House seats. Former Rep. Henry Schadeberg, a staunch conservative, recaptured his old seat, and 28-year-old Bill Steiger, a three-term state legislator, defeated freshman Rep. John Race.

Right-to-Work Wins

Reed Larson, executive vice president of the National Right-to-Work Committee, says that initial election returns show that opponents of repeal of right-to-work have gained "at least three additional supporters in the new U.S. Senate." The effect of this issue, he adds, "was most apparent in the contest for 35 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. In every race where repeal of 14b was a major issue, voters rejected candidates who favored repeal."

Repeal of 14b was a major factor in the defeat of Schmidhauser, Bandstra, Greigg and Hansen of Iowa; Dave King of Utah; Senner of Arizona; and Grider of Tennessee. All are Democrats.

A total of approximately 50 incumbents who voted for repeal will be among the missing when the 90th Congress convenes in January.

The GOP in Dixie

Riding a tide of anti-Johnson sentiment, Republicans made sweeping inroads into the South on November 8, carving out the most secure power base in Dixie since Reconstruction. The GOP captured two governorships, one in Florida and one in Arkansas, and came within an eyelash of winning the statehouse in Georgia. (There is still an outside chance that the GOP could capture the governorship in the Peach State.)

Republicans also retained the Senate seat held by John Tower in Texas, picked up a Senate seat in Tennessee and knocked off the chairman of the House Agriculture Committee in North Carolina. The GOP boosted its congressional representation in the South to 20 representatives and two senators, an increase of three.

Politicos say these victories in the South should give the GOP an even more conservative cast, as Dixie Republicans are normally more conservative than Republicans from other areas in the nation.

Here is a round-up of important Republican races in the South:

Alabama: In spite of the landslide win by George Wallace's wife, Lurleen, for the Alabama governorship, Republicans retained three of the five House seats they won in 1964. Jack Edwards, William Dickinson and John Buchanan, all conservative Republicans, were re-elected. Thus, conservative Republicans still have a strong foothold in Alabama.

Arkansas: Republican Winthrop Rockefeller captured 55 per cent of the vote in winning the governorship from former state Supreme Court Justice Jim Johnson. Although a Rockefeller, Winthrop is more conservative than his brother (New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller), having supported Barry Goldwater in 1964 and actively campaigned for right-to-work laws. In Arkansas' 3rd District, conservative Republican John Paul Hammerschmidt, former chairman of the state GOP, ousted liberal Democrat Rep. Jim Trimble.

Florida: Republicans captured both a governorship and a House seat here. Claude Kirk, a Goldwater-type Republican, defeated ultra-liberal Miami Mayor Robert King High (a friend of Bobby Kennedy) for governor. Broward County Commissioner J. Herbert Burke, who received backing from Barry Goldwater, picked up a seat in the House for the GOP by defeating criminal attorney Joe Varon, an LBJ supporter. Rep. Ed Gurney, a conservative Republican, retained his House seat.

Georgia: While the race for governor between Howard ("Bo") Callaway, a conservative Republican, and arch-segregationist Lester Maddox, a Democrat, is still up in the air and may be thrown into the Democratic-controlled Georgia Legislature or require a run-off, Republicans managed to win two House seats.

Benjamin B. Blackburn, a Republican who opposed LBJ's "War on Poverty" and foreign assistance to nations which aid North Viet Nam, beat Rep. James A. Mackay, a liberal Democrat, in Georgia's 4th District. Conservative Republican S. Fletcher Thompson won the House seat vacated by Rep. Charles Weltner, a liberal Democrat who refused to run when the Democrats nominated Maddox for governor. Weltner said he could not support a man who held Maddox's extreme racial views.

Kentucky: Republicans managed to pick up two House seats in Kentucky. Gene Snyder, a Goldwater Republican who lost his House seat in 1964, will now represent Kentucky's new 4th District, which includes the Louisville suburbs. William O. Cowger, a "moderate" Republican, captured the 3rd District. Rep. Tim Lee Carter, a conservatively oriented Republican who was first elected in 1964, retained his seat in Kentucky's 5th District.

North Carolina: Republicans scored a major victory in the Tar Heel State when former state GOP chairman James C. Gardner, a strong conservative, defeated Rep. Harold Cooley, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee and a liberal Democrat. North Carolina is now represented by three conservative Republicans in the House: Gardner, James Broyhill and Charles Jonas.

South Carolina: Sen. Strom Thurmond, running for the first time as a Republican, captured a sizable 62 per cent of the vote in defeating his Democratic opponent and came close to electing another Republican senator on his coat-tails.

State Sen. Marshall Parker, a Republican, gathered 48 per cent of the vote in his bid to defeat former Democratic Gov. Ernest L. Hollings, one of South Carolina's most popular political personalities. Parker's strong race, say politicos, shows the two-party system in South Carolina is there to stay, and GOP Carolinians don't rule out the possibility of defeating Hollings when he has to run again in 1968. (Hollings will fill out the remainder of a six-year term originally won by Sen. Olin Johnston in 1960. Johnston died in 1965.) Rep. Albert Watson, also a conservative Republican, won handily in South Carolina's 2nd District.

Oklahoma: The GOP picked up an additional House seat here when James V. Smith, a conservative, turned out of office Rep. Jed Johnson, an extreme liberal from Oklahoma's 6th District. Rep. Page Belcher, a conservative Republican, retained his 1st District House seat.

Tennessee: The GOP scored smashing wins in the Volunteer State, picking up both a Senate and a House seat. Howard Baker, a conservative Republican who enthusiastically supported Barry Goldwater in 1964, won 56 per cent of the vote in defeating liberal Gov. Frank Clement.

A conservative Republican, Dan Kuykendall, captured the Memphis district held by freshman liberal Democrat George W. Grider. Tennessee will now send four conservative Republicans—James Quillen, John Duncan, William Brock, and Kuykendall—to the House and a conservative Republican to the Senate.

Texas: Conservative Republican John Tower scored a surprisingly easy victory over Democrat Waggoner Carr. The Republicans also picked up two House seats, with George Bush winning a seat in Harris County and Robert Price winning in the Texas Panhandle.

Virginia: Conservative Republicans picked up two seats in the Old Dominion, with William Scott winning Judge Howard Smith's old seat against liberal Democrat George C. Rawlings, and conservative Republican William Wampler upsetting Rep. W. Pat Jennings, a liberal Democrat from Virginia's Southwest-Bristol area. Virginia will now send four conservative Republicans—Richard H. Poff, Joel T. Broyhill, Scott and Wampler—to the House. (Sen. Harry Byrd Jr., also a conservative, was elected as senator for the first time on the Democratic ticket. House Democrats Satterfield, Abbitt, Tuck and Marsh also have very conservative voting records.)

LBJ's Political Wizardry

President Johnson's reputation as a master politician was severely damaged on November 8 as he watched "Great Society" Democrats picked off like flies by the Republicans. Columnist Mary McGrory indicated just how bad his reputation had suffered in the Washington *Evening Star*. Noted Miss McGrory:

"The best the President can claim is that he took a small part in the proceedings.

"He chose to campaign in Asia, but the fate of over 40 House members, including his prized freshman Democrats, proved there are no votes in Manila.

"He got no endorsement on his Viet Nam policies for his pains, either. His man in Oregon, Rep. Robert B. Duncan, lost the Senate race to Republican Gov. Mark O. Hatfield.

"He chose at the last minute to quarrel with Richard M. Nixon, who came away from the scene with coat-tails in good order and new credit as political prophet. . . .

"When he went to Texas to 'rest' before surgery, and then engaged in a vehement round of activity, some disillusioned Democrats grumbled that he had bowed out rather than lend his personal prestige to hopeless causes.

"His best friend among the big-city Democrats, and one of those most cruelly disappointed by his absence, was Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, who by the loss of Douglas was considerably diminished himself.

"The last partisan speech the President made before his departure for the Far East was in behalf of Frank D. O'Connor of New York, who went down before Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller."

Idaho Victory

One of the biggest victories posted by conservatives occurred in Idaho, where liberal Republicans tried to knife conservative Don Samuelson, the GOP candidate for governor.

"Moderate" Republicans had it in for Samuelson because he had wrested the party's nomination away from incumbent Gov. Robert Smylie, a liberal, back in the August primary. (Smylie became a darling of the liberals when he backed Rockefeller against Goldwater in 1964.)

In an attempt to defeat Samuelson, state Sen. Perry Swisher, a liberal Republican newspaper publisher, entered into the race. Reports from Idaho indicated that the liberal Republicans, rallying around Swisher, would not only defeat Samuelson, but cause the defeat of Sen. Len Jordan, a conservative Republican. On election day, however, Samuelson led a field of four candidates who were on the ballot. Jordan won by more than 20,000 votes.

Freeman Rebuffed

The 1966 elections represent a massive repudiation of Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman and the heavy-handed controls he has imposed on the nation's farmer. From coast to coast voters took out their wrath on those Democrats who steered through Freeman's programs.

Of the 24 Democrats on the House Agriculture Committee, 10 were defeated, including long-time chairman Harold Cooley (D.-N.C.). Committee veterans Harlan Hagen (D.-Calif.), Alec Olson (D.-Minn.), and Jimmy Morrison (D.-La.) also lost, Morrison in the Democratic primary.

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"Boss" Daley Takes Licking

From Tuesday evening to Wednesday morn, the David Brinkleys and Walter Cronkites and Edward P. Morgans lectured a captive audience on the meaning of the 1966 elections. The triumphs and defeats of hundreds of candidates were analyzed and reanalyzed. Bond issues, referendums, legislative contests were discussed at length.

But no mention was made of what one expert terms the most significant election in the entire country. John Dreiske, veteran political editor of the Chicago *Sun-Times,* refers to Republican Richard Ogilvie's stunning defeat of the nation's most powerful political machine.

Four years ago the crusading young attorney was elected Cook County sheriff in a major upset. The pundits wrote him off as a political fluke, insisting, too, that the sheriff's office was traditionally a political dead end. When Ogilvie campaigned for Barry Goldwater two years later, the experts wrote his political obituary.

Early this year, when Ogilvie announced for the presidency of the Cook County Board of Commissioners, his chances appeared bleak. Only once in the last half century had a Republican captured the office. Democratic nominee Harry Semrow, an affable, back-slapping campaigner, had almost 20,000 patronage employes at his disposal. Ghost voters were certain to pad the Democratic count.

But when the votes were tallied, Ogilvie had trounced Semrow by more than 175,000 votes. He carried into office a county treasurer, Edmund J. Kucharski, a sheriff, Joseph I. Woods. GOP nominees won four trusteeships on the scandal-wracked Sanitary District (Commission).

It was Ogilvie, not the highly touted Chuck Percy, who spearheaded the Republican triumph. In fact, Ogilvie ran 120,000 votes ahead of Percy, leading the Chicago Daily News **to cite him as the "hottest item in the [Illinois] Republican party."**

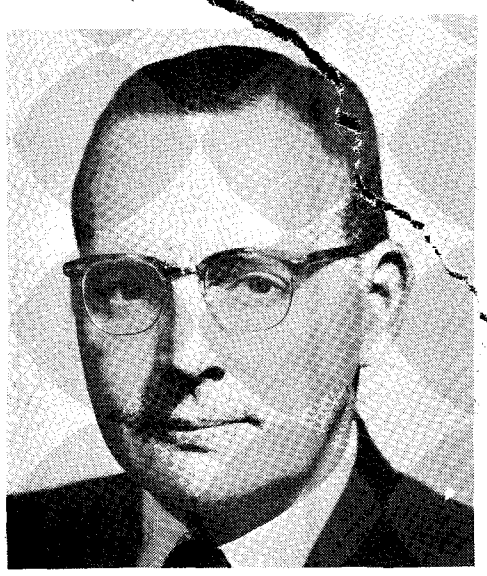
The significance of Ogilvie's triumph is difficult to overstate. He humiliated the fabled Boss Daley, providing a tremendous boost to good government forces everywhere. He ran proudly as a Republican, not a Lindsay-style "fusionist," and demonstrated beyond doubt that GOP candidates can capture big city offices.

Ogilvie could not win without the support of life-long Democrats, many of whom were casting their first GOP ballots. He ran a hard-hitting campaign in which he made clear the stake all Chicagoans had in good government:

"County government, which spends nearly half-a-billion dollars a year, employs almost 20,000 people, operates major welfare and teaching institutions, and maintains 602 miles of highway, must be something more than a patronage pool for the City Hall political bosses."

Ogilvie campaigned on specifics, not vague generalities. He made the bloated county government a major issue, promising to put board employes on a merit system, as he did with the police. He pledged creation of a "Little Hoover Commission" to probe the county's operations and find ways to cut costs and improve efficiency.

Such a commission is desperately required. Annual road maintenance in Cook County costs taxpayers $5,683 per mile. This is nearly four times as much per mile as the most expensive county in Indiana (Fort Wayne area) and 75 per cent more than in Wayne County (Detroit), Mich.



Richard Ogilvie's victory marks him as one of the men to watch in the Illinois Republican party.

Ogilvie promised to take politics out of the county's $240-million-a-year welfare program, appointing a non-partisan welfare director. He noted that more than a million dollars in federal funds are currently being withheld from Cook County because of personnel abuses.

A crime-busting U.S. attorney before he entered politics, Ogilvie compiled an outstanding record as sheriff, winning kudos from the Chicago Crime Commission for his all-out attack on the Cosa Nostra. The Chicago *Daily News* applauded the "nonpartisan war on political corruption and syndicate crime" waged by the bespectacled sheriff.

But Ogilvie, a hard-nosed political realist, knew well that an outstanding record would not by itself guarantee political victory. For the past four years he has directed a complete rebuilding of the Republican organization in Cook County. He began by purging the party's elected officials—members of the notorious "West Side Bloc"— who collaborated with the Daley machine. He hacked away at the party deadwood, replacing tired ward heelers with enthusiastic young men and women dedicated to good government. He built up party organizations in areas long controlled by Democrats.

As polls indicated that Ogilvie could win, and carry other Republicans into office, a campaign of harassment was launched by the opposition. Paint was splattered on the cars of GOP workers, tires slashed, windows broken.

In late October Republicans held a meeting in newly opened headquarters in the 24th ward, long a Democratic fiefdom. A gasoline bomb was hurled through the window and 70 people were saved from injury and possible death only when the missile failed to ignite. Among those present: Ogilvie, Republican Alderman Samuel De Caro, Ward Committeeman Moses Walker, and other party workers.

The bomb-throwers returned 24 hours later and completed the job. The GOP headquarters were destroyed and a dozen tenants who lived above the store-front offices were rendered homeless.

The ghost voters who have so often given Mayor Daley the margin of victory were again in evidence. In a spot check in just one precinct several days before the balloting, Ogilvie discovered 98 non-existent registered voters.

Eight voters were registered from an unoccupied "College of Mortuary." Five persons were registered in a long-abandoned building, nine in another. Eight persons were registered from another building in which only one person lived.

On Election Day the Daley machine engaged in business as usual. Three GOP pollwatchers—one a veteran of the Viet Nam war—were seized by the Democratic-controlled Board of Election Commissioners and held for seven hours until the polls were closed. They were then released.

In a number of precincts voting machines would not record GOP votes. Precinct officials cast numerous votes for winos and derelicts pulled off the streets by Democratic precinct captains. In one precinct 80 per cent of the voters received "assistance" from Daley's election officials.

Voters were paid off with money, food and cheap wine, according to eyewitness reports. Attorney Charles Barr, director of the GOP's Operation Eagle Eye, compiled more than 1,000 complaints of polling irregularities. There were twice as many claims of fraud as in 1962 and 1964, he said.

The harassment of party workers, the fraud and irregularities, made the GOP triumph all the more remarkable. It was, said Dick Ogilvie, "reaction by the people of Cook County to the corruption, the arrogance and the failures of Democratic administrations from Chicago's City Hall all the way to Washington."

Historical "Firsts"

Many "firsts" were brought about due to the recent elections. Among them:

- Lurleen Wallace became the first woman governor of Alabama in history.
- Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts became the first Negro senator since Reconstruction, and the third ever to serve in the Senate.
- Howard Baker Jr., son-in-law of Everett Dirksen, was the first popularly elected Republican senator in the history of Tennessee.
- Claude R. Kirk Jr. became Florida's first Republican governor in 94 years.
- Winthrop Rockefeller became the first Republican governor of Arkansas in almost 100 years.
- Probably for the first time in American history an Olympic decathlon star— Robert B. Mathias— won a seat in Congress as a representative from California.

□ □ □

ADVICE TO A SON — After reading a story in *Human Events* about Secretary of Defense McNamara's strange ways of calculating "savings" for his department, a reader recounted for us this story about McNamara now making the rounds: One day the secretary gave an economy talk to his son, urging him to save money in every possible way. The next day his son reported to him that he had just saved 50 cents bus fare back and forth to school by running alongside the bus instead of riding in it. The secretary's response was, "I don't see why you didn't save $2.00 by running alongside a taxi."

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Ten Years Ago

Hungarians Still Pay for West's Inaction

By DUMITRU DANIELOPOL in the San Digo *Union*

On October 23 a decade ago students and workers in Budapest, Hungary, organized a mass demonstration in protest against the oppressive Communist regime and the Soviet occupation of their country.

They marched peacefully to the Parliament to present a petition that demanded the withdrawal of the Russian army and a more liberal, less tryannic government.

The political police and Soviet tanks stationed before the Parliament opened fire on the marchers.

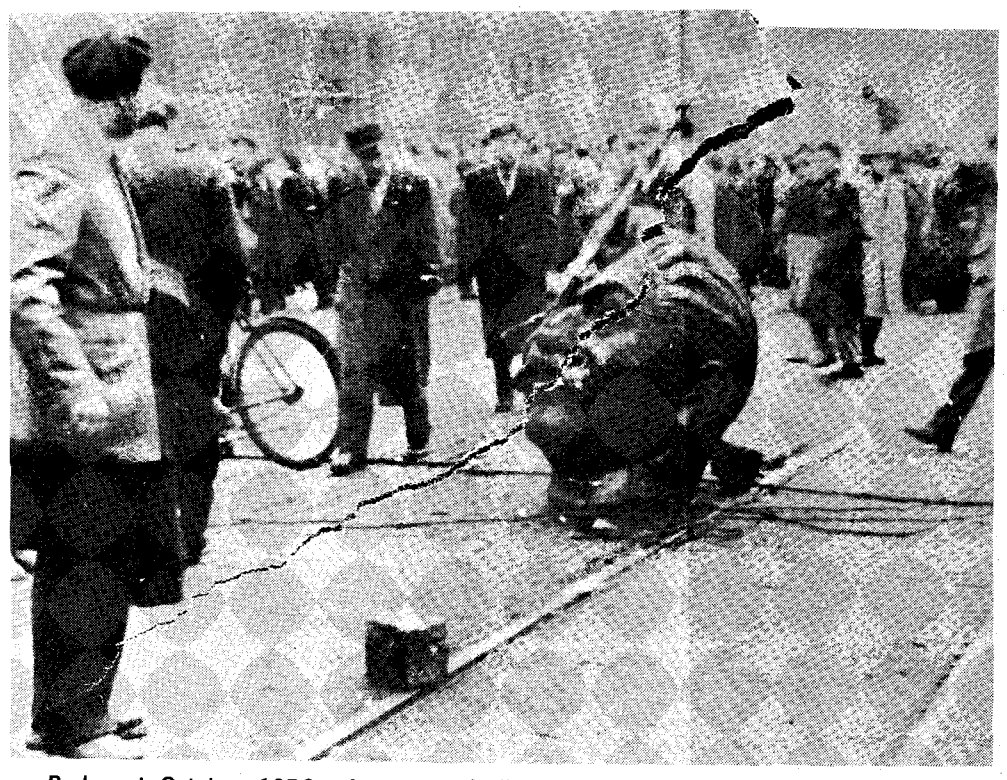
The Reds triggered an insurrection that swept through Hungary. It was symbolized by the crowd that tore Budapest's giant Stalin statue from its pedestal and sent it crashing into the street.

What happened in the next few days is history. For the West the pages are tinged with shame and frustration.

Confronted with open rebellion behind the Iron Curtain, the Western capitals wavered. Austria's neutrality stood in the way of direct assistance. Paratroop landings were considered and rejected. The United Nations sputtered, but did not act, and in an incredible display of bad timing, Britain and France chose that moment to join Israel in an invasion of Egypt.

For a few glorious hours, Hungary's Freedom Fighters had won. The regime was smashed. The Russians were routed.

Even their leaders hesitated. Soviet sources have since admitted that the way was open for U.S. intervention. There already had been riots in Poland and East Germany. Moscow faced a wild fire.



Budapest, October, 1956: A statue of Stalin was toppled onto the street by aroused Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

But the West never acted and the Russians did.

Within days the Red army massacred the Freedom Fighters and set fire to Hungary's cities. It was the most flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the human rights clause of the peace treaty with Hungary, which both the Soviet Union and the United States had signed.

The brutality of the Soviet attack sent shudders through the United Nations.

"We must give honest consideration to what the United Nations can do now that will assist the brave Hungarian people in their struggle for freedom," U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge told the Security Council.

The answer was a crushing disappointment.

The free world and the world organization settled for statements of outrage. It did help thousands who fled Hungary to Austria, but it did nothing for Hungary.

The impotence of the United Nations was never more clearly seen than when Russia "prohibited" any interference while its tanks slaughtered thousands and rounded up the other "rebels" for deportation to Siberia. Among those deported were 7,000 women. While this vicious reprisal was under way, Premier Bulganin rattled his rockets over Egypt and the West retreated.

Today the mines and barbed wire and watchtowers again form an Iron Curtain along the Austrian frontier.

Hungary is once again a prison. It may be a slightly more "comfortable" prison, but its people *still* have no freedom.

Dr. Bela Fabian, chairman of the Federation of Former Hungarian Political Prisoners, says that of 63,000 Hungarians deported to Siberia none has returned. He estimates that 50,000 may still be alive.

In New York the puppet regime placed in power by Soviet tanks sits in the world organization.

On October 7 in New York, these puppets who now talk of "independence" heard President Johnson offer them financial help. He said U.S. policy must be based on "the reality of today—not yesterday."

In his speech the President chose to recall the anniversaries of the nuclear test ban treaty and the end of the Berlin airlift. He said nothing about the Hungarian revolt.

He attached no conditions to his economic offers—not even a gesture in favor of those Freedom Fighters.

Radio Free Europe and other Western voices behind the Iron Curtain have dropped their strident attacks on the Communist regimes.

"Evolution, not revolution," is now the accepted policy of Western nations.

Some will say that the Hungarian Freedom Fighters forced Russia to "liberalize" conditions in Eastern Europe. But I wonder if those men who tasted freedom for a few heady hours in 1956 would trade what they had for the lot of Hungary today.

Soviet Spy Network Covers the World

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

The Los Angeles arrest of Air Force Sgt. Herbert W. Boeckenhaupt, Washington's expulsion of Soviet diplomat Aleksey R. Malinin and the resulting London arrest of British businessman Cecil Mulvena are more than merely the visible caps of an iceberg.

They are all interlinked parts of a major security shake-out in the face of stepped-up Soviet espionage penetrations of our government.

Our country and Western Europe never have been under as heavy attack as today.

Counterespionage is cheifly a matter of patience and hard work, but luck is its leaven. Although luck had a place in these latest events (an intercepted letter), the result is really an organizational coup for FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover on our side of the water and, abroad, for able Richard M. Helms, elevated last June to chief of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Boeckenhaupt case (its ramifications still hidden) was also triggered by the increased number of what Soviet intelligence calls "wet affairs" in the dark and unrevealed battles of espionage and treachery. In the slang of Kremlin agents "wet affairs" means assassinations.

The Soviet military intelligence service is the GRU (*Glavnoye Razvedyvatelnoye Upravleniye*). The American division makes up nearly 50 per cent of the entire group and its operation in the United States is separated, for competition and security, from at least six other major Soviet networks here that are likewise separated from each other.

The network concerned in the Boeckenhaupt case is the Soviet civilian apparatus, presently known as the KGB (*Komiteat Gosundarstvennoi Bezopasnosti*), for state security.

Department D of its 1st Main Directorate is the foreign operations department. The *Chatany Otdell* Group handles assassinations and is trained at Tugachev, the "wet affairs" headquarters near Kiev.

There is a famous saying in Red agent ranks: *"Kto, Kogo" — "Who is over who?"* Well, the over-all man for the United States and Western Europe is designated by the code name DZE and his office was the locale of Col. Oleg Penkovskiy, shot by the Russians in 1943 as a Western agent, which he was.

On our side the event involved British businessman Horace Grenville, whom KGB agents kidnapped in Budapest and held in Moscow until exchanged for a Soviet spy imprisoned in London. Incidentally, not trusting their satellite colleagues, the Kremlin men first locked up the chief of the Hungarian AVH secret police before they kidnapped the Englishman.

In the Soviet espionage lexicon (as in ours) a "case officer" is the masked link between headquarters and the agent in the field. Expelled Soviet diplomat Malinin was a case officer.

The KGB assigns a case officer to every American or Western diplomat from the time he is granted a Soviet visa. From then on, whether he is in Washington, Russia or elsewhere, the Kremlin periodically evaluates him as a prospective Soviet agent.

The KGB is believed to use at least 10 case officers at all times on the continuous mission of penetrating our Moscow embassy. The chief method is personal entrapment aimed at blackmail. Our agents, in turn, are trained to detect that unique slur of the English vowels which only Russians commit.

A "cut-out" is an intermediary who guides an agent to his case officer or "handler." It is generally agreed that the most important thing in an agent's life is this contact, for which he usually yearns.

An "unvetted source" is a man who remains as undisclosed to his employers as to the enemy against whom he works. One of these put the finger on Boechenhaupt's "cut-out."

An "illegal" is a clandestine operative under cover. This is the alleged status of British businessman Mulvena, arrested in London on notice from the FBI.

A Swiss espionage maxim says that opinions matter less in espionage than the art of perfidy. Even neutral Switzerland shot 16 traitors during the second World War. Every government in the world is penetrated by enemy agents. Every intelligence service—including ours—operates on the basic assumption that its own government is penetrated. The sole unknown feature is: To what extent?

There is no question whatever but that traitorism has played its part in some of our most colossal foreign policy failures and that traitors remain at work in Washington today.

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Soviet Espionage Grows

Spy Cases Highlight Consular Treaty Risks

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Emil Gilels, the eminent Russian pianist, was in Washington recently playing the Rachmaninoff Third down at Constitution Hall. Meanwhile, Herbert William Boeckenhaupt, the obscure American Air Force sergeant, was in jail in California, awaiting arraignment on an espionage charge.

In the conjunction of those two unrelated sentences, a student of our bewildering foreign policy might find an excellent text for a short course in American-Soviet relations. There are times—honest there are—when a vast measure of truth seems to reside in the aphorism that the only thing men learn from history is that men learn nothing from history.

Gilels was around town for several days—feted, interviewed, photographed, lionized as one of the great concert artists of our time. He is a part of the beautiful facade that stands like a Potemkin village between illusion and reality. Cliburn in Moscow, the Bolshoi in New York—these are among the outward symbols of an inner grace that civilized men would like to assume on the international stage. "Our task is to achieve a reconciliation with the East," says the President. "Americans are prepared to do their part."

But is it possible, just this once, to draw a useful lesson from the Boeckenhaupt case? Is it possible to relate this to the President's recent "reconciliation" speech? Let us try.

The charge against the German-born sergeant is that he conspired with one Aleksey R. Malinin, who was identified vaguely in the first news accounts as "a Soviet diplomat." Sure enough, Malinin was attached to the Russian Embassy here in Washington, but only as an assistant commercial counselor. Pursuing the point, the Washington *Evening Star* obtained a more definitive description:

"The State Department said Malinin is not a diplomat in the strictest sense, and is not listed in its diplomatic list. But as a staff employe of the embassy's commercial counselor, he enjoys diplomatic immunity."

The distinction has unusual relevance at this time, for back in October, in the course of his address, Mr. Johnson itemized some of the steps he proposes to take toward reconciliation with the Communist East. Among other things, "I am asking for early congressional action on the U.S.-Soviet consular agreement."

This is the agreement that was signed in Moscow on June 1, 1964, between Ambassador Foy D. Kohler and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. It contains an unprecedented provision, in Article 19, by which all employes of a consular establishment who are nationals of the sending state "shall enjoy immunity from the criminal jurisdiction of the receiving state."

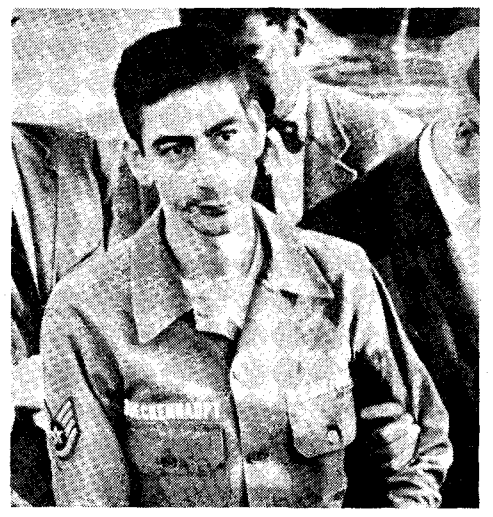
It was this provision that prompted Connecticut's Sen. Tom Dodd (along with Senators Lausche of Ohio, Hickenlooper of Iowa, Williams of Delaware and Mundt of South Dakota) to oppose Senate ratification of the agreement. Consular agreements with other nations grant immunity only as to misdemeanors, but not as to felonies.

Would it not be wise, in the light of this latest espionage case, to take a hard look at the pending consular convention and at the friendly relations the agreement is to symbolize?

Consulates are not policy-making agencies; they are largely service agencies. The State Department's argument in support of ratification is that an American consulate in, say, Leningrad, could render great service to the 12,000 American tourists who visit Russia annually. The agreement would guarantee certain rights of prompt notification and access in the event an American were arrested in Russia, or a Russian national arrested in America. All of this is fine.

Yet should we not ask: "What's in it for the Russians?" Only 200 Russian "tourists" come to the United States each year, and these are not tourists in any ordinary sense. Why should a Soviet consulate be needed in, say, Los Angeles, to serve their needs?

The question answers itself. As J. Edgar Hoover repeatedly has testified, Soviet diplomacy and Soviet espionage are two words for the identical function. Any consulates that might be established in the United States under this agreement would be merely bases from which espionage could be conducted more efficiently. And the Soviet "commercial counselors" who might be caught, like Malinin, would face only expulsion. The agreement would exempt them from criminal prosecution.



Sgt. Boeckenhaupt is taken into custody after the FBI announced his arrest for conspiring with a Red diplomat.

In the dissenting statements that were filed more than a year ago, Dodd and his colleagues grimly cataloged more than 30 instances over the past 20 years in which Soviet "diplomats" have had to be expelled as spies. In almost every case the pattern of espionage involved a conspiracy with some American citizen. The friendly Russians were after bombsights, classified maps, classified service manuals, highly secret information on atomic energy. Dodd lists those who were caught. How many got away?

To be sure, every knowledgeable person assumes that the United States manages to plant a few CIA agents under diplomatic cover in our own consulates and embassies abroad. The United States is necessarily engaged in espionage too, but the differences are vast. With the Russians, espionage is an all-absorbing business. They now have a home office in their embassy here, and an East Coast center at the United Nations. Why pave the way for a Communist West Coast branch?

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Miranda vs. Arizona—The Latest Assault Upon Our Inalienable Rights

Hailed by the liberal press as a triumph for individual rights, this decision is in fact the exact opposite

By PARK CHAMBERLAIN

Many centuries ago, in the land of Babylon, two old Peeping Toms watched a modest young housewife named Susanna bathing herself in her garden. When they were confident that she was alone, they accosted her with a demand for sexual relations, threatening, if she refused, to report to the authorities that they had caught her *in flagrante* with a young lover. She nevertheless still refused, whereupon so successfully did the peepers bear false witness against her that she was condemned to death.

But at this juncture a policeman named Daniel, suspecting the old men of the horrid crimes of perjury and conspiracy, demanded that they be forthwith separated so that he might vigorously interrogate them. It was done, and as the suspects had not taken time to coordinate their stories, they soon so entangled themselves in contradictions and discrepancies that Susanna was saved and they themselves executed.

Thus ended happily the story of Susanna and the Elders—assumed for some 20 centuries to represent a triumphant defense of individual rights by means of excellent police work. But today—since only last June—we know how wrong we have all been.

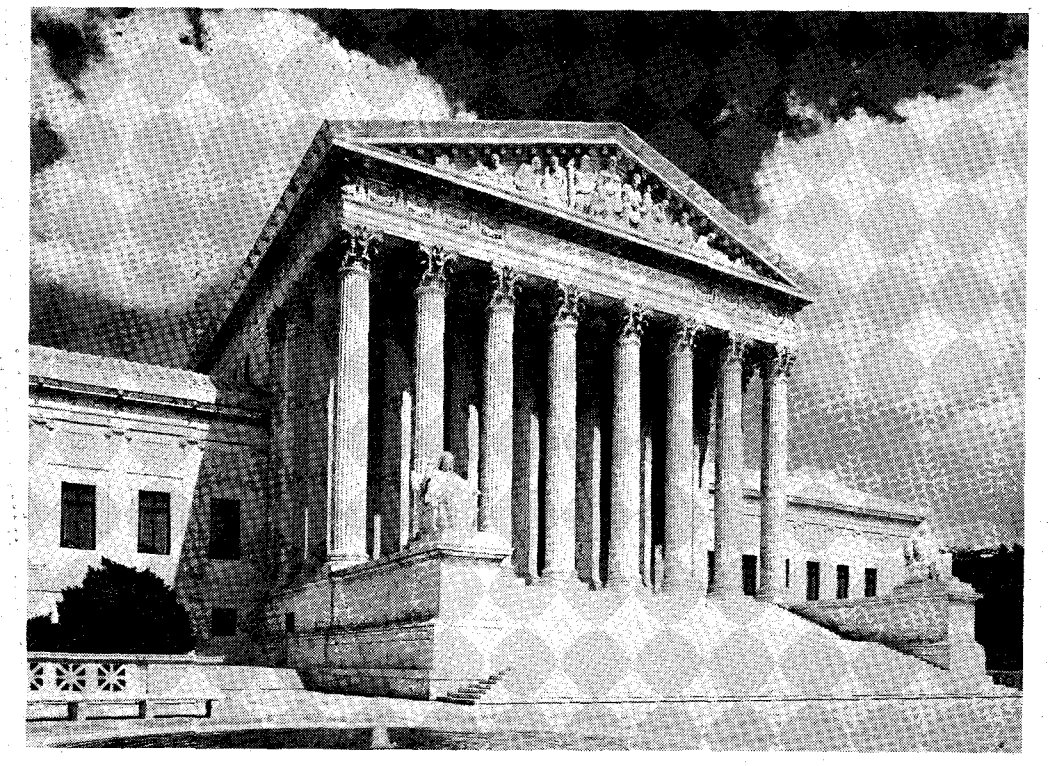
The Supreme Court, by its decision in *Miranda vs. Arizona,* has taught us that the story really represents a callous violation of the rights of the individual. Had the Elders been able to appeal to that court, the chief justice and four of his brethren would have ordered a new trial wherein the whole interrogation by Daniel, and any and all fruits thereof, would have been excluded from evidence.

The court in addition would have demanded administrative discipline for Daniel on account of his brutality, and admonished him that for the future, suspects such as the Elders must be warned at the outset that they need answer no questions, and that they might first consult counsel. Only in such fashion, the court would explain loftily (as it accepted the plaudits of the liberal press) would the constitutional rights of the individual be preserved.

Upon their new trial, all evidence of the interrogation and its fruits being excluded, the Elders would have been acquitted. Later, at the funeral of Susanna (who would have committed suicide in the face of gloating liberal editorials to the effect that the acquittal had cleared the Elders of all suspicion and therefore was a conclusive vindication of the court's action), Daniel might have been heard to defend himself in this wise:

"I agree with the court that the rights of the individual must be protected, but that's just what I thought *I* was doing. I felt that Susanna was innocent, and that the only way I could protect her rights was by going after those two old goats hard and fast, before they could get together to harmonize their stories. But now the Supreme Court says that they had an absolute constitutional right to enough time to harmonize their stories, no matter what happened to Susanna. Or, in other words, the court says that the right of the Elders to make their stories jibe was superior to the rights of Susanna to her life and her honor.

"But isn't Susanna an individual with rights too? It's sure that the Supreme Court doesn't think so, because the only people they talk about are the Elders and myself—*their* rights against *me*. But I was acting to save Susanna, not myself, and so it should have been *their* rights balanced against *hers*. But the court doesn't consider her rights at all, or if it does, it weighs them in at exactly zero, and the Elders get off scot-free."



The Supreme Court has engaged in another assault on the rights of the individual, according to this analysis of Miranda vs. Arizona **by California attorney Park Chamberlain.**

So Officer Daniel might have reflected 2,000 years ago; today, might not any honest citizen expand Daniel's conclusions with ruminations like these:

"Yes, I have always understood that as a human being I am endowed with God-given rights to my life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. I have always further understood that the prime purpose of government is to see to it that I, and every other individual human being, should rest secure in the enjoyment of these rights.

"But the application of the *Miranda* rule to a state of affairs such as Susanna's case shows that the inalienable rights of any innocent person can be violated with impunity when the courts deny such a person the use of the weapon especially necessary to his defense—namely, in this case, immediate and acute interrogation.

"Is it not obvious, therefore, that my rights to the defense of my life and liberty have been diminished by this *Miranda* decision?"

I answer: Indeed they have been diminished. Until *Miranda* the decent citizen could have assumed without question that the police not only had the authority but were duty-bound to defend his rights by the kind of aggressive questioning that saved Susanna.

Now, of course, he knows that his police defenders may no longer use this weapon, however necessary it might be to protect him from conspirators, or from the many other kinds of criminal against whom such interrogation can be of decisive effect.

For example, suppose that you are attacked on the streets by a band of thugs. Your call for help happily brings police who succeed in capturing one of your attackers, but lose the rest who make off with your wallet.

Now, prior to *Miranda,* your rights included not only rescue by the police but also their immediate and tenacious questioning of the captive to secure the names of his companions—information vital to you for many reasons, among them being that the escaped thugs might come after you again, or because your wallet might be recovered if they were captured soon enough, or because even thugs sometimes have wages or assets out of which you might obtain damages.

However, *Miranda* has stripped you of this right to interrogation; the criminal caught pounding your face must not be asked questions by the police without their first warning him that he may be silent and may consult his lawyer. Upon such warning, you may be certain that he would remain silent; his accomplices would remain at large and you would have seen the last of your property and any hope of damages.

Thus are your rights diminished by *Miranda.* But this is not all. Suppose that *you* in your excitement begin asking the thug questions while the police hold him. Has *Miranda* stripped you too of this right? In all probability, yes, and the result would be that you would use at your peril any information so secured by you.

Suppose that your house is burglarized, and that later the police arrest someone with what appears to be your property. Before *Miranda* your rights to the recovery of your property included the right to whatever information with respect to it could be gained by questioning the suspect; now you have lost that right.

Here is an even more serious case. Suppose that you are kidnaped. Before *Miranda* no one would have doubted that the questioning of suspects to hasten your rescue was a right belonging to you and a duty binding the police. Now you have lost that right.

It is relevant here to recall the case of Emmett Till, whose kidnap and murder I discussed in my article "Has the Fifth Amendment Become a Menace to Human Rights?" in *National Review* of April 19. This Negro boy was dragged away from his protesting relatives by white men well known to them. I urged that in such a case the rights of Emmett Till should require that his kidnapers be questioned under oath as to his whereabouts, and regretted that the 5th Amendment denied him that right.

Now, under *Miranda,* Emmett Till would have even fewer rights; the police may not even question the kidnapers informally without such warning as would induce them to remain silent.

One last point: Suppose that you, innocent, are arrested by the police on good probable cause. You tell them your story, hoping for immediate release. The police are impressed, but courteously advise that they cannot release you because the prime suspects, who have it in their power to clear you, have declined to talk. So you find that through *Miranda* you have lost another right that you once had—namely, the right to speedy exoneration through the confession of another.

In all such cases, as well as in many more that you can think of for yourself, the rule of Miranda **has diminished the rights of every decent individual.**

But, you may ask, surely there must be some advantage, however small, to lay in the scales against these heavy losses. So far as I can discover, there is only one—far-fetched to be sure, but here it is:

Suppose that you, though innocent, are arrested. Normally, of course, like all decent persons in such a predicament, you would not want to be booked, mugged, fingerprinted, jailed or compelled to put up bail; therefore, you would want to tell your story and be sent home. However, it might be possible to imagine a set of circumstances so bizarre that you would actually prefer to be processed and even held in jail rather than explain your innocence at the time of arrest.

This being so, *Miranda* stands forth in its essential ugliness: a privilege conceived by guilt alone and dedicated to the relief of guilt alone. It was the bearing of false witness against Susanna that would create in the Elders a right to harmonize their stories and thereby to destroy Susanna. It was the beating and robbing of you by the thugs that created in them the right to silence that diminished your right to recover your property. It is the act of kidnap that endows the kidnaper with a right to silence superior to the victim's right to his life and liberty.

Miranda, in short, stands alone. All other police-regulating rules adopted under the Bill of Rights have been assumed to have as their purpose the protection of the innocent, any protection of the guilty being an unfortunate and unwanted happenstance.

But as the innocent can have no use for *Miranda,* its purpose can only be the protection of guilt to the detriment of innocence, a protection that will continue until the honest American citizen insists upon Supreme Court justices who will secure, rather than destroy, his inalienable rights.

Park Chamberlain is an attorney practicing in Los Altos, Calif. Between 1958 and 1963 he was a radio commentator specializing in the field of civil liberties and politics.

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Curbs on Riots Certain

"Black Power" Dooms Civil Rights Bills

From the Allen-Scott Report

Regardless of the political complexion of the 90th Congress that convenes in January, it is a cinch that no new civil rights legislation will be enacted.

Even in the House, which passed the Johnson Administration's "open housing" bill in the recent session, the prospects for a new measure are dim. In the Senate they are non-existent. A last-ditch filibuster, such as scuttled the House-approved bill, would be certain.

It's a safe bet it will be years before any new civil rights legislation gets through Congress. On the other hand, virtually certain to be adopted are stringent curbs against civil disturbances, violence and looting such as have characterized racial riots in cities throughout the country in the past several years.

Already a number of such measures are awaiting early introduction when Congress reassembles.

Sen. Harry Byrd Jr. (D.-Va.) and Representatives William Cramer (R.-Fla.) and Joel Broyhill (R.-Va.) will again propose the anti-riot bills they pressed in the recent session. Other legislators also are known to contemplate sponsoring such measures.

Cramer's bill was overwhelmingly passed by the House (389 to 25) as an

Militant extremists such as CORE leader Floyd McKissick are partly responsible for the defeat of the 1966 Civil Rights Act.

amendment to the civil rights measure. It provided stiff penalties—up to five years imprisonment and $10,000 fines—for using interstate travel facilities to foment riots "or other violent civil disobedience."

But Cramer's provision was junked with the rest of the civil rights bill by the Senate filibuster—led by Republican floor leader Everett Dirksen.

The measures offered by Sen. Byrd and Rep. Broyhill were incorporated as amendments in the $1.75-billion anti-poverty authorization bill. The Senate narrowly approved Byrd's proposal 38 to 32. Purpose of the two provisions is to bar the payment of federal funds to anyone who "incites, promotes, encourages or carries on a riot," and who is a "member of an organization designated as subversive by the attorney general of the United States."

Crux of this profoundly significant shift in congressional sentiment is intense and widespread indignation at Negro mob turbulence and incendiary pronouncements by extremists such as Stokely Carmichael, head of SNCC, and Floyd McKissick, leader of CORE.

Carmichael's defiant denunciation of the draft law and the Viet Nam war is certain to lead to tough crackdown legislation.

Rep. Robert Sweeney (D.-Ohio) is drafting such a measure. Meanwhile, he is demanding acting Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark prosecute the foreign-born Carmichael for opposing the draft and inciting others to do so. Although a supporter of civil rights legislation, Sweeney scathingly denounced the Cleveland rioting and favors forceful measures to prevent such outbreaks.

In this outraged reaction he is joined by other House and Senate liberals.

For the first time these champions of civil rights are speaking out in forthright condemnation of Negro violence and mob lawlessness. They are making it clear such civil disobedience cannot be tolerated and must be stopped.

Their new highly critical attitude is both immensely revealing and indicative of what is transpiring in and out of Congress. It is the much-discussed backlash on influential congressional levels.

Graphically illustrative are the comments of Rep. Chet Holifield (D.-Calif.), chairman of the Joint Atomic Committee and former head of the liberal House Study Group. In a special statement for this column, Holifield said:

"As a dedicated supporter of all civil rights legislation during my 24 years in Congress, I have become increasingly concerned with the deterioration of the civil rights movement during the past year. The triumphs in passing civil rights legislation have rested on a coalition of racial groups moving together to correct the evils of discrimination in our society.

"The recent seizure of power by irresponsible extremists in the Negro community has in my opinion caused the stalemate that led to the defeat of the civil rights bill in the Senate. More importantly, the violation of civil law in many of our cities has engendered fear and hostility among the general population and a decline in interest and participation throughout the stable elements that made our progress in civil rights legislation possible in the past."

Similar views are voiced by Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.C.), Food for Peace administrator in the Kennedy Administration:

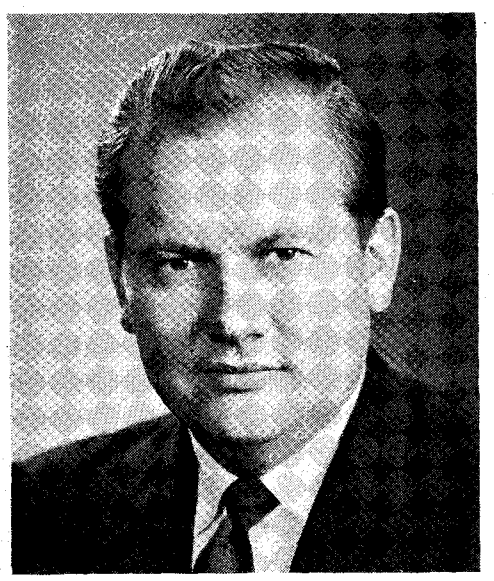
"As one long committed to the establishment of civil justice, I deplore the recent trend toward emotionalism and violence which certain extremist civil rights leaders have encouraged. The progress toward full citizenship for the Negro has been achieved in considerable part through appeals to the national conscience by reasonable, non-violent leaders, white and Negro. That accomplishment can be reversed if the ill-tempered epithet, the recklessly thrown brick and fire-bomb, and narrow appeals to racial power replace reason and restraint.

"The civil rights movement in the United States has reached the stage where the conference room is much more important than the streets."

Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.), strong supporter of the scuttled civil rights bill, attributed its defeat directly to widespread resentment at Negro violence and extremism. Said Javits:

"What is the catalyst which brought about this unhappy reaction? I think many will agree with me that it was the sudden violence, the call to reverse racism and iconoclastic demagoguery of a few which have threatened and frightened the white community almost to the point where right and reason become secondary to visions about self-preservation. . . . I have devoted a large part of my efforts and public life to eliminating racial segregation and I refuse to sit by and see it resurrected by Negro extremists."

Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.), member of the Joint Committee on Defense Production, told this column, "As one who has always supported civil rights legislation, I am sorry to see the day dawning when what is being sought is civil preference



Rep. William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.) introduced the anti-riot bill in the House.

and privilege. Rioting must not be allowed to induce the enactment of civil privileges."

And Sen. Gale McGee (D.-Wyo.), member of the potent Appropriations Committee and a consistent civil rights supporter, declared:

"I have become increasingly concerned with the rising tensions in our population between white and black. Increasing militancy on one side breeds militancy on the other and gives rise to what is commonly called the backlash. I do not ask that American Negroes give up their demands for equality in our country.

"But I think it is imperative that the more militant spokesmen and leaders of the movement realize the necessity of proceeding in orderly fashion, and that they eschew lawless activity endangering lives and property and pay heed to advice that they de-escalate the confrontation which, it appears, is increasingly building up. The alternative to reason could well be disaster for both black and white."

Rep. Charles Weltner (D.-Ga.), who made history voting for the civil rights bills and by quitting Congress in protest at the gubernatorial nomination of Lester Maddox, unsparingly assailed "Black Power."

" 'Black Power' means the power of violence," said Weltner, "and that's all. It is not, as many would have us believe, a cry for economic justice."

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LBJ's Outburst Harms Foreign Policy

By BARRY GOLDWATER

President Johnson's ranting, personal attack against Richard M. Nixon during his November 4 press conference is bound to have two immediate effects.

For one thing, it adds a new dimension to the President's growing sensitivity to criticism and will convince many Americans that he really does not want any discussion of policies, that all he wants is blind, unquestioning obedience from a nation of "yes" men and women.

Let me assure him he is not likely to get his wish. Americans will not be silenced. Dissent will not be silenced. Honest questions will not be silenced just because one man in the White House wants to hear nothing but a chorus of agreement to his every word.

The man whom President Johnson so bitterly and unfairly criticized has done a good deal more to gain support for the Administration's over-all policy in Viet Nam than have leaders in the Democratic party. But when Nixon dared question certain highly questionable phases of the policy, the President blew his top.

This is scarcely a recommendation for bipartisanship. It was a display of political temper which will surely dismay many Republicans.

The other effect of the Johnson blast singles out Nixon as the man whom President Johnson personally has picked to fight in the political arena. Whereas the President has had only nice things to say about George Romney, for instance, he has now declared open political war on Nixon and, through him, the entire Republican party.

Particularly objectionable was the sharp-tongued and highly personalized nature of the Johnson attack. It seems inexcusable to use the White House for such a personal attack, on such personal terms and in such language. Neither Lyndon Johnson nor Richard Nixon is running for office, but the President is accorded the greatest platform in the land and is protected by the greatest prestige.

Lyndon Johnson, in effect, used the office of the presidency as a foxhole from which to snipe at one individual Republican.

It will not be lost on those who had hopes for more statesmanship and less politics in our foreign policy that the attack against Nixon was far more bitter than any he has launched against those members of his own party who flatly and absolutely oppose his entire Vietnamese policy rather than honestly question parts of it.

The press conference outburst was a performance of which no President should be proud and regarding which no American, regardless of party or feeling toward Nixon, should be pleased.

The effect on our allies and on our enemies may be considerable. Richard Nixon is known throughout the world as the man who, more than anyone else, took America's story behind the Iron Curtain and told it effectively. He is known as a firm advocate of strength and decision and as a firm opponent of the spread of communism, by any means.

The President's harangue against him, therefore, might well call into question the President's own attitude toward those positions which Nixon represents and which, until now, had also seemed to be part and parcel of the Johnson policy, at least in Viet Nam.

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'War on Poverty' Under Fire for 'Adjudicare'

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Poor Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity is suddenly getting it from all sides. The Republicans, naturally enough, have been assailing it for waste and bungling, but Shriver has shrugged this off as something to be expected in an election year. The greater menace to Shriver's future comes from two other sources.

One of these is the gang of hungry bureaucrats in his own Democratic party who wants to take over his programs for their own "empires" in the Department of Labor and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The second source is the legal profession in the state of Florida, where a number of county bar associations are attacking the Office of Economic Opportunity's free legal service program, known as "adjudicare," on grounds that it is flagrantly unconstitutional.

The flare-up against Mr. Shriver's attempt to establish federally run neighborhood law offices for the benefit of people who can't afford to hire their own lawyers began in Florida's Orange County where an Orlando and Winter Park attorney, Russell Troutman, brought suit against Shriver and the U.S. government for usurping a power that has not been specifically delegated to the OEO agency by Congress.

According to Mr. Troutman, if Mr. Shriver can subsidize local law offices under the guise of "fighting poverty," there is nothing to stop him from setting up dental offices, or grocery stores, or gasoline stations, or newspapers, on the ground that poor people must have free access to all these services. Carried out

Sargent Shriver is finding that power-hungry bureaucrats like to build little "empires."

to the logical extreme, under this reasoning the OEO could have established Medicare without putting Lyndon Johnson to the trouble of getting a Medicare bill passed.

According to lawyer Troutman, the action of Sargent Shriver in setting up a country-wide legal service for the poor comes under the heading of "unbridled discretion." Some $26 million in tax money has been laid out by the OEO for legal services without getting a preliminary okay from the representatives of the people in Congress.

The Shriver office has countered the Troutman suit by asking that it be dismissed on the technical ground that the plaintiff has no "capacity" to bring a complaint. It seems that the action in Orange County was "premature," for the OEO had not yet gotten around to organizing any free legal services in that part of Florida.

But if Troutman has no valid complaint in his own central Florida bailiwick, his suit has picked up support in other parts of the state where the OEO is already in the business of supplying free legal services.

Phillip Nourse, the head of the bar association of St. Lucie County, with headquarters at Fort Pierce, has joined Mr. Troutman in his action. St. Lucie happens to have a Shriver free legal service operation in full bloom. The Seminole County bar association has also joined with St. Lucie in offering itself as a co-plaintiff with Mr. Troutman.

Back in the 1930s, some of the early New Deal programs were invalidated because no specific delegation of congressional power could be cited to support them. The New Deal administration quickly repaired the damage by drawing up new support legislation, particularly in agriculture, that could meet Supreme Court specifications regarding delegation of authority.

In the intellectual climate of the "Great Society," it is, of course, a question whether Mr. Troutman's complaint will ever reach the Supreme Court. But with his own side gunning for him, Sargent Shriver could be deprived of the funds needed to subsidize federal competition with local legal services.

When Congress reassembles, the drive to force "spin-offs" from the Sargent Shriver empire will surely pick up renewed steam. With idealists such as lawyer Russell Troutman attacking him for noble constitutional reasons, and with competing bureaucrats trying to chisel OEO functions away from him for cynical reasons of self-aggrandizement, Mr. Shriver could be in for a tough winter.

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IT NEEDED A ZIP—A letter postmarked Wymore, Neb., arrived recently in Lincoln, Neb.—14 years late. Postmarked Nov. 14, 1942, at midnight, the yellowed envelope was addressed to Ethel Roberts by Zelda Wymore. Both are now dead. "It probably fell out of a mail sack that has been out of use for many years," said Lincoln postmaster Kenneth Lewis.

□ □ □

COMPARED WITH LBJ, FDR was a piker when it came to spending the people's money. The Chicago *Tribune* reports that Johnson's much-heralded Job Corps program costs 13 times as much per enrollee as Roosevelt's old Civilian Conservation Corps.

Extremism, Anyone?

The liberal press is constantly criticizing conservatives for imagining all sorts of conspiracies. Some of the biggest imaginations, however, belong to the liberals themselves. For example, the following editorial, headlined "Riots and Reason," which appeared in the October 20 edition of the Troy (Ohio) Daily News, *under the byline of I. William Berry, editor:*

The riot season seems to have grown in the past year. It used to be that the coming of the cold weather cooled off the heat and hatred.

No longer. In Oakland, just across the bay from San Francisco (which recently had a little uprising), the teenagers have been smashing windows, etc. The reason: alleged police brutality.

But what has really been happening? Does anybody know? In city after city, as policemen try to keep the peace, every action has been seized on as an excuse to riot.

The recent actions in California are troublesome because that state has had a rather good record in race relations—first under Gov. Earl Warren (the target of radical-right "impeachment" ridiculousness), now under Gov. Edmund Brown.

I begin to wonder: are the Communists really behind this? Certain factors make me doubt it, because the only real beneficiaries are their arch enemies, the radical right. The timing has been perfect, and only Gov. Brown can really be hurt—thus giving an edge to Ronald Reagan, the rightist actor-turned-candidate.

I remember an interesting situation in Germany, the Reichstag fire. Also blamed on the Communists; in fact, done by the right-wing National Socialist (Nazi) party. Hmm. Curious.

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Absolute Values Are the Key To Child's Future in Life

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

'Tis the season to be public-opinion-polley, so let's try the latest Rafferty Poll on you today. How many of you would subscribe to the following way-out statements?

1. If enough kids in a given school class say "I ain't got no book," kindly Miss Mentor should wince momentarily, forget it and concentrate on something more important, like togetherness and on-going forward-lookingness.

2. Children should be given things to read in school that they enjoy rapport with and which have "immediacy" for them, like *Lolita* and "Love-Life of the Beatles," not compelled to read out-of-date, corny stuff like the *Odyssey* and *Robinson Crusoe*.

3. Students should be encouraged to demonstrate publicly for their particular point of view and to conduct their politics in the streets, even if they haven't been in school long enough to accumulate enough facts to bulwark either their viewpoints or their politics.

Now wait a minute. Before you start another barrage of "Dear-Sir-you-cur" protests rolling in my direction, let me hastily establish my non-authorship of the aforementioned sentiments. They were authored in considerably more detail than my capsule version by respectively:

1. An official of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

2. Bel Kaufman, teacher-author of *Up the Down Staircase*

3. Frank Mankiewicz, press assistant

And don't get me wrong. These are all estimable people and no doubt have profound and even highly ingenious justifications for their seemingly weird points of view. Just the same, there's a rapidly growing snowball of this kind of guff presently rolling down the educational hill toward the little

Webster defines it as "the view that ethical truths depend upon the individuals or groups holding them."

Educationally applied, this means that it's okay for the school kids to say "ain't" or indeed anything else, just so long as everybody's doing it.

Similarly, the term "literary classic" is meaningless because the only thing worth reading is what's cool with the current "in" group.

And how is a teen-ager going to learn civics and current events unless he's out with the Molotov cocktail set clobbering some cop?

What relativism really implies is the assassination of all absolutes, the strangling of all standards, the vanquishing of all values—except, of course, relative ones. So if Johnny uses hair-raising English, don't substitute the teacher's "middle-middle-class" speech patterns for Johnny's "middle-lower-class" habits. After all, how can we be sure teacher is right? Can't Johnny be just as right?

No, friends; Johnny can't. English operates under set rules which have little or nothing to do with social stratification or whether Johnny lives on Park Avenue or under a bridge somewhere. In the semantic battle between 'Enry 'Iggins and Eliza Doolittle, Prof. Higgins was right. Obviously.

So spare me the anguished protests that Johnny needs to learn more important things, that English grammar is really Latinized syntax and that it doesn't matter just so Johnny can make himself understood.

It matters a lot. Correct English just has to be taught to the next generation unless we want a replay of the Tower of Babel bit around 1984. And it does matter profoundly if Johnny is being encouraged in school to express himself in the latest disk jockeyese instead of in the best of an admittedly evolving Queen's English.

The same thing goes for great literature instead of comic book drivel and for disciplined, dedicated study instead of downbeat demonstrating.

Every civilization since time began has had certain positive standards and lasting values. Ours is no exception. And the schools exist to uphold and to transmit these values.

Else why have schools at all? Any illiterate savage can practice relativism, and does.

After all, cannibalism is relatively ethical for the cannibal, even if it is relatively uncomfortable for the missionary.

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□ □ □

EVER UPWARD — The Joint Committee on Reduction of Non-Essential Federal Expenditures reports that the "Great Society" added 9,732 more federal employes during the month of August, bringing the total to 2,794,949. In addition, it added 10,853 foreign workers to the payroll.

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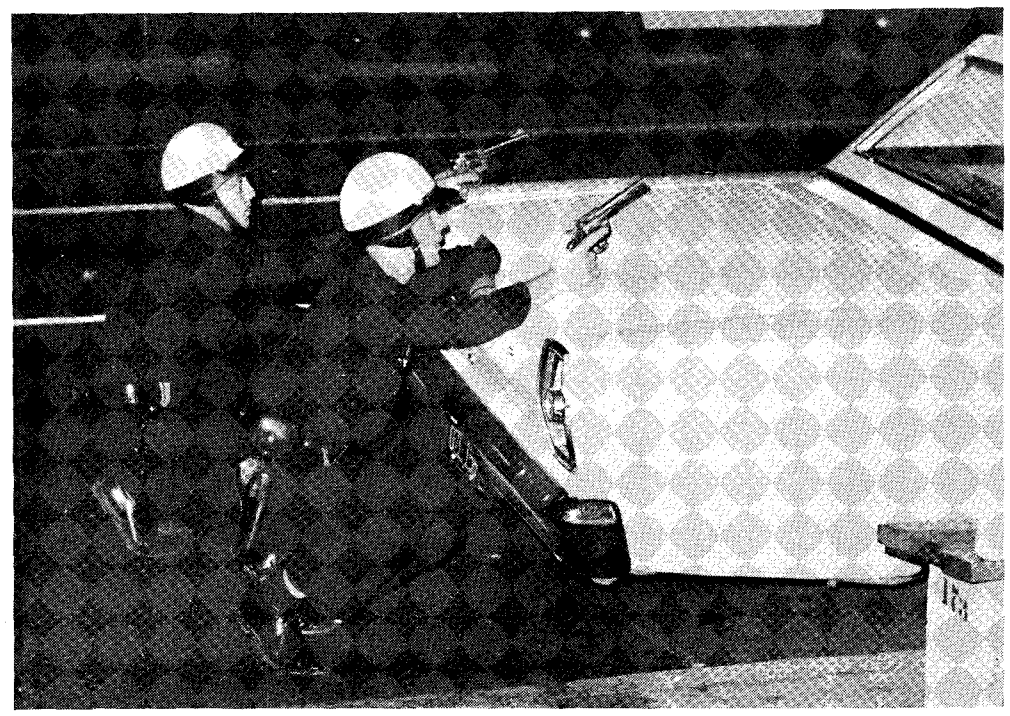

The nation's police forces are harassed enough as it is.

Unionize the Police?

By VICTOR RIESEL

A police commissioner's lot is not a happy one these days.

To add to his problems in scores of cities, his department is being unionized. Everybody—but the nation's police chiefs—gasped the other day when some 60 cops in Pontiac, Mich., called in sick after threatening to strike for more money.

Many a commissioner merely sighed. It had to come.

They know what very few others do—that there are at least 125 unionized police departments across the nation. And the drive, mostly by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes (AFL-CIO), is just beginning.

Everything is just beginning where Jerry Wurf, the nation's comparatively new national president, is involved. Young, tousle-haired and daring, Wurf is a sort of oratorical short order cook. He pushes himself like an ascending Saturn rocket still loaded with three stages. He is organizing everything in sight he believes is legitimately in his union's jurisdiction. And this includes the police.

At the moment, he claims some 10,000 uniformed men. Some of these, says he, are in cities such as Detroit, Portland (Ore.), Duluth and in smaller communities from Maine to Oregon. For some reason he seems to be doing best with the constabulary in Connecticut, where his aides set up the Connecticut Council of Police Unions 15.

Wurf's men are doing pretty well in Michigan, too, but there is no evidence that he was behind the Pontiac cessation. He's against strikes, strike threats or sit-ins. Some of his people say that the Pontiac crisis really goes back to the "early days" in Michigan.

There, in 1944, the Teamsters moved into Lansing with Local 580 and tried to unionize the gendarmerie. They failed. But their national union, which has picked up some deputy sheriff units along the way, still has hopes.

The Teamsters just don't frighten Jerry Wurf. They have no right in the field and should stay on the right side of the law, says he as he continues to organize.

Typical is his union's activity in Baltimore. There he claims some 2,000 police for his union and actually has convinced some 650 cops to sign up publicly. Last spring the city council urged the Baltimore police commissioner "to recognize and deal with" a representative organization of policemen.

Just what does recognition of a police union mean? Jerry Wurf, whose International Executive Board has just adjourned a leadership conference, says first they, the cops, must know they cannot strike.

"We have placed in the charter of every local police union," said Jerry, "the words: 'This charter is issued with the understanding by the party hereto that it will be revoked immediately if the members of the local who are employed as law enforcement, police, or penal officers call or participate in a strike or refuse in concert to perform their duties.' "

Then, why a police "union"? This is most clearly seen in the first pacts, recently signed by police unions in four Connecticut towns. All the agreements provide for voluntary check-off, a multi-step grievance procedure ending in binding arbitration; allowance for uniforms which range from $100 to $150 yearly, seniority rights and time for union officials (still on the force) to tend to union business.

There is another startling new police contract—in Waterville, Maine. It calls for a union shop in the police department there.

This means that once on the job, the cop must join the union.

It may get so the police commissioners will organize a union of their own.

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Complete 1966 Election Returns

On these pages we present the latest unofficial returns for the governorship and Senate races, as well as the winners of the House races. Prior to the elections, Democrats held 33 governorships; the Republicans 17. The new lineup indicates 24 Democrats, 25 Republicans, with one race, Callaway vs. Maddox in Georgia, undecided at press time. Republicans made a net gain of three Senate seats to make the new division 64 to 36 in favor of the Democrats. In the House, where the old lineup was 294 Democrats and 139 Republicans with two vacancies, Republicans captured 52 Democratic seats and lost 5 House seats for a net gain of 47. The new House, barring any last-minute vote changes, stands at 248 Democrats and 187 Republicans.

Republicans are shown in CAPITAL LETTERS. In the House listing, candidates are listed by district number. An asterisk (*) after each name designates the incumbent; a large dot (•) before each name indicates the winner. A (=) means that the race is undecided at press time.

State Governors

Alabama	
• Lurleen Wallace	512,970
JAMES D. MARTIN	251,320
Alaska	
William A. Egan*	28,066
• WALTER J. HICKEL	30,415
Arizona	
Samuel P. Goddard*	168,824
• JACK WILLIAMS	197,022
Arkansas	
Jim Johnson	246,790
• WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER	286,447
California	
Edmund G. Brown*	2,543,116
• RONALD W. REAGAN	3,476,554
Colorado	
Robert L. Knous	283,789
• JOHN A. LOVE*	353,258
Connecticut	
• John N. Dempsey*	562,459
E. CLAYTON GENGRAS	444,071
Florida	
Robert King High	651,096
• CLAUDE R. KIRK JR.	800,377
Georgia	
# Lester G. Maddox	437,258
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY	435,489
Hawaii	
• John A. Burns*	106,886
RANDOLPH CROSSLEY	102,614
Idaho	
Cecil Andrus	94,257
Perry Swisher (Ind.)	30,402
• DON SAMUELSON	105,433
Iowa	
• Harold E. Hughes*	497,854
WILLIAM G. MURRAY	398,001
Kansas	
• Robert Docking	361,731
WILLIAM H. AVERY*	293,021
Maine	
• Kenneth M. Curtis	170,390
JOHN H. REED*	151,290
Maryland	
George P. Mahoney	370,929
Hyman Pressman (Ind.)	89,567
• SPIRO T. AGNEW	452,838
Massachusetts	
Edward J. McCormack	745,870
• JOHN A. VOLPE*	1,268,267
Michigan	
Zolton A. Ferency	956,135
• GEORGE W. ROMNEY*	1,524,583
Minnesota	
Karl F. Rolvaag*	588,031
• HAROLD E. LeVANDER	653,726
Nebraska	
Philip C. Sorensen	179,939
• NORBERT T. TIEMANN	279,299
Nevada	
Grant Sawyer*	61,595
• PAUL LAXALT	66,355
New Hampshire	
• John W. King*	123,831
HUGH GREGG	106,823
New Mexico	
Thomas E. Lusk	123,949
• DAVID F. CARGO	132,474
New York	
Frank D. O'Connor	2,290,407
Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. (Lib.)	519,397
Paul L. Adams (Con.)	507,038
• NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER*	2,713,261
Ohio	
Frazier Reams Jr.	1,164,958
• JAMES A. RHODES*	1,976,577
Oklahoma	
Preston J. Moore	294,482
• DEWEY F. BARTLETT	373,985
Oregon	
Robert W. Straub	300,566
• TOM McCALL	370,903
Pennsylvania	
Milton Shapp	1,835,386
• RAYMOND P. SHAFER	2,067,828
Rhode Island	
Horace E. Hobbs	119,215
• JOHN H. CHAFEE*	204,906
South Carolina	
• Robert E. McNair*	248,170
JOSEPH O. ROGERS	177,195
South Dakota	
Robert Chamberlain	93,112
• NILS A. BOE*	127,114
Tennessee	
• Buford Ellington	(No GOP candidate)
Texas	
• John B. Connally*	965,261
T. E. KENNERLY	341,947
Vermont	
• Philip H. Hoff*	78,665
RICHARD A. SNELLING	57,303
Wisconsin	
Patrick J. Lucey	538,797
• WARREN P. KNOWLES*	626,250
Wyoming	
Ernest Wilkerson	52,220
• STANLEY K. HATHAWAY	63,051

U. S. Senate

Alabama	
• John J. Sparkman*	466,491
JOHN GRENIER	300,951
Alaska	
• E. L. Bartlett*	44,656
LEE L. McKINLEY	14,490
Arkansas	
• John L. McClellan*	(No GOP candidate)
Colorado	
Roy Romer	264,538
• GORDON L. ALLOTT*	368,080
Delaware	
James M. Tunnell Jr.	66,574
• J. CALEB BOGGS*	96,063
Georgia	
• Richard B. Russell*	(No GOP candidate)
Idaho	
Ralph Harding	112,975
• LEN B. JORDAN*	140,998
Illinois	
Paul H. Douglas*	1,665,503
• CHARLES H. PERCY	2,091,587
Iowa	
E. B. Smith	330,111
• JACK MILLER*	524,225
Kansas	
J. Floyd Breeding	261,487
• JAMES B. PEARSON*	306,082
Kentucky	
John Young Brown	269,732
• JOHN SHERMAN COOPER*	496,223
Louisiana	
• Allen J. Ellender*	(No GOP candidate)
Maine	
Elmer H. Violette	127,861
• MARGARET CHASE SMITH*	281,381
Massachusetts	
Endicott Peabody	773,312
• EDWARD W. BROOKE	1,205,976
Michigan	
G. Mennen Williams	1,029,588
• ROBERT P. GRIFFIN*	1,311,311
Minnesota	
• Walter F. Mondale*	750,610
ROBERT A. FORSYTHE	615,808
Mississippi	
• James O. Eastland*	244,097
PRENTISS WALKER	98,827
Montana	
• Lee Metcalf*	135,767
TIM BABCOCK	119,193
Nebraska	
Frank B. Morrison	182,291
• CARL T. CURTIS*	282,662
New Hampshire	
• Thomas J. McIntyre*	122,060
HARRISON R. THYNG	104,865
New Jersey	
Warren Wilentz	783,967
• CLIFFORD P. CASE*	1,259,947
New Mexico	
• Clinton P. Anderson*	135,100
ANDERSON CARTER	119,248
North Carolina	
• B. Everett Jordan*	470,181
JOHN S. SHALLCROSS	371,189
Oklahoma	
• Fred R. Harris*	339,988
PAT J. PATTERSON	293,183
Oregon	
Robert B. Duncan	318,952
• MARK O. HATFIELD	343,374
Rhode Island	
• Claiborne Pell*	214,885
RUTH M. BRIGGS	101,611
South Carolina (both seats up)	
(six-year term)	
P. Bradley Morrah Jr.	161,233
• STROM THURMOND*	260,112
(two-year term)	
• Ernest F. Hollings	218,129
MARSHALL PARKER	204,021
South Dakota	
Donn H. Wright	74,873
• KARL E. MUNDT*	144,501
Tennessee	
Frank G. Clement	367,060
• HOWARD BAKER	462,675
Texas	
Waggoner Carr	617,544
• JOHN G. TOWER*	809,070
Virginia (both seats up)	
(six-year term)	
• William B. Spong	429,164
F. Lee Hawthorne (Con.)	58,315
JAMES P. OULD JR.	245,506
(four-year term)	
• Harry F. Byrd Jr.*	387,963
John W. Carter (Con.)	57,354
LAWRENCE M. TRAYLOR	277,040
West Virginia	
• Jennings Randolph*	291,393
FRANCIS J. LOVE	198,615
Wyoming	
Teno Roncalio	56,137
• CLIFFORD P. HANSEN	60,535

House of Representatives

Alabama

1 Warren L. Finch
•JACK EDWARDS*
2 Robert F. Whaley
•WILLIAM L. DICKINSON*
3 •George W. Andrews*
4 •William Nichols
GLENN ANDREWS*
5 •Armistead I. Selden Jr.*
6 Walter E. Perry
•JOHN H. BUCHANAN JR.*
7 •Tom Bevill
WAYMAN SHERRER
8 •Robert E. Jones*
DON MAYHALL

Alaska

AL Ralph J. Rivers*
•HOWARD W. POLLOCK

Arizona

1 L. Alton Riggs
•JOHN J. RHODES*
2 •Morris K. Udall*
G. ALFRED McGINNIS
3 George F. Senner Jr.*
•SAM STEIGER

Arkansas

1 •E. C. Gathings*
2 •Wilbur D. Mills*
3 James W. Trimble*
•JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT
4 •David Pryor
LYNN LOWE

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2 •Harold T. Johnson*
WILLIAM H. ROMACK JR.
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TERRY G. FEIL
4 •Robert L. Leggett*
TOM McHATTON
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TERRY R. MACKEN
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•WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD*
7 •Jeffery Cohelan*
MALCOLM M. CHAMPLIN
8 •George P. Miller*
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9 •Don Edwards*
WILBUR G. DURKEE
10 George Leppert
•CHARLES S. GUBSER*
11 Mark Sullivan
•J. ARTHUR YOUNGER*
12 Gerald V. Barron
•BURT L. TALCOTT*
13 Charles A. Storke
•CHARLES M. TEAGUE*
14 •Jerome R. Waldie*
FRANK J. NEWMAN
15 •John J. McFall*
SAM VAN DYKEN
16 •B. F. Sisk*
CECIL F. WHITE
17 •Cecil R. King*
DON CORTUM
18 Harlan Hagen*
•ROBERT B. MATHIAS
19 •Chet Holifield*
WILLIAM R. SUTTON
20 Raymond Freschi
•H. ALLEN SMITH*
21 •Augustus F. Hawkins*
NORMAN A. HODGES
22 •James C. Corman*
ROBERT C. CLINE
23 Ed O'Connor
•DEL CLAWSON*
24 Earl G. McNall
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28 Lawrence Sherman
•ALPHONZO BELL*
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34 Richard T. Hanna*
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3 Lawrence A. Touchae
•H. R. GROSS*
4 Bert Bandstra*
•JOHN H. KYL
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•WILLIAM O. COWGER
4 Frank Chelf*
•M. GENE SNYDER
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•TIM LEE CARTER*
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C. F. SEE

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3 •Edwin E. Willis*
HALL LYONS
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5 •Otto E. Passman*
6 •John R. Rarick
CRAYTON G. HALL
7 •Speedy O. Long*

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PETER A. GARLAND
2 •William D. Hathaway*
HOWARD M. FOLEY

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•ROGERS C. B. MORTON*
2 •Clarence D. Long*
PAUL T. McHENRY
3 •Edward A. Garmatz*
4 •George H. Fallon*
G. NEILSON SIGLER
5 •Hervey G. Machen*
LAWRENCE J. HOGAN
6 Walter G. Finch
•CHARLES McC. MATHIAS*
7 •Samuel N. Friedel*
STEPHEN L. ROSENSTEIN
8 Royce Hanson
•GILBERT GUDE

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10 Patrick H. Harrington Jr.
•MARGARET M. HECKLER
11 •James A. Burke*
JAMES L. HOFFORD
12 Edward F. Harrington
•HASTINGS KEITH*

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2 Weston E. Vivian*
•MARVIN L. ESCH
3 Paul H. Todd Jr.*
•GARY E. BROWN
4 John V. Martin
•EDWARD HUTCHINSON*
5 James M. Catchick
•GERALD R. FORD*
6 Lee H. Wenke
•CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN*
7 John C. Mackie*
•DONALD W. RIEGLE JR.
8 Wager F. Clunis
•JAMES HARVEY*
9 Henry J. Dongvillo
•GUY VANDER JAGT
10 Hubert C. Evans
•ELFORD A. CEDERBERG*
11 Raymond F. Clevenger*
•PHILIP E. RUPPE
12 •James G. O'Hara*
PATRICK J. DRISCOLL
13 •Charles C. Diggs Jr.*
FRANK DANIELS
14 •Lucien N. Nedzi*
WILLIAM J. KENNEDY
15 •William D. Ford*
ARPO YEMEN
16 •John D. Dingell*
JOHN T. DEMPSEY
17 •Martha W. Griffiths*
WILLIAM P. HARRINGTON
18 William H. Merrill
•WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD*
19 Billie S. Farnum*
•JACK H. McDONALD

Minnesota

1 George Daley
•ALBERT H. QUIE*
2 Charles M. Christensen
•ANCHER NELSEN*
3 Elva D. Walker
•CLARK MacGREGOR*
4 •Joseph E. Karth*
STEPHEN MAXWELL
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U.N. Covenants Endanger U.S. Sovereignty

By JOHN B. GEST in *Christian Economics*

On July 22, 1963, President Kennedy transmitted to the Senate, for advice and consent to ratification, the following three conventions:

Supplementary Slavery Convention (Supplementary to the Slavery Convention of 1926). This provides for the abolition of debt bondage, serfdom, giving women in marriage for money consideration without the right to refuse, and certain kinds of exploitation of children under 18.

Convention on Abolition of Forced Labor. This provides for the suppression of compulsory labor as a means of political coercion or as a punishment for expressing views ideologically opposed to the established political, social or economic system, or as a means of racial, social, national or religious discrimination.

Convention on Political Rights of Women. This provides that women shall be entitled to vote in all national elections and shall be eligible for election to all elective national bodies on equal terms with men.

In his letter of transmittal, President Kennedy stated that United States law is "already in conformity with these conventions, and ratification would not require any change in our domestic legislation."

At the start we should emphasize the difference between a U.N. declaration and a convention. A declaration, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is a mere recital of supposed ideals without purporting to impose any obligation.

A convention, or covenant, or multilateral treaty (these terms are interchangeable) is quite different. It obligates each accepting nation to comply with the terms of the convention. The Human Rights Conventions can be accepted in the future by any nation, be they hostile or be they friendly to us.

One may search in vain for any good reason for ratification of these conventions. The International Law Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York (recommending ratification) says, "It would appear that a treaty, at a minimum, must have some relevance to the foreign or external concerns and relations of the United States." And in attempting to justify the conventions it states that "The purpose of the conventions from the point of view of the United States is a foreign relations purpose—to encourage a particular pattern of behavior by other countries."

World Court Involved

In President Kennedy's letter of transmittal, he also said: "There is no society so advanced that it no longer needs periodic recommitment to human rights."

Our recommendation for "recommitment" would be for senators to recall their oath to support the Constitution, to reread the Bill of Rights and to reflect on the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence that man is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that it is to secure these rights that governments are instituted among men.

So far as concerns the convention on Political Rights of Women, eligibility of women to vote and hold office is a purely internal and domestic matter for each nation to decide for itself. Certainly "equality" with men does not mean identity of qualifications. And there is no apparent "direct relationship to external affairs."

The Supplementary Slavery and Forced Labor Conventions also deal with human rights which are domestic rather than external matters.

The whole idea of "internationalizing" human rights by conventions is a fallacy and against the plain meaning of our Constitution. Furthermore, the conventions all contain provisions under which any nation could bring any other nation, including, of course, the United States, before the World Court (International Court of Justice) in a dispute as to such nation's fulfillment of its obligations under the conventions.

The way for our nation "to encourage a particular pattern of behavior by other countries" is not to dislodge human rights from their divine origin in created nature, and to debase them to the status of contractual obligations with other nations, many of which nations have no sympathy with our philosophy of freedom. We should rather hold high our heritage of freedom as an inextinguishable light to the world.

'68 Human Rights Year

Our gravest concern is not from consideration of these three conventions *standing alone*, but from the fact that they are part of a massive program of the United Nations and its agencies for internationalizing the entire field of human rights.

In 1948 John P. Humphrey, director of the Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Security Council of the United Nations, said:

"What the United Nations is trying to do is revolutionary in character. Human rights are largely a matter of relationship between the state and individuals and, therefore, a matter which has been traditionally regarded as being within the domestic jurisdiction of states. What is now being proposed is, in effect, the creation of some kind of supernational supervision of this relationship between the state and its citizens."

The United Nations General Assembly, by resolution adopted Dec. 12, 1963, designated the year 1968 as Human Rights Year. On Dec. 20, 1965, the General Assembly adopted a resolution reaffirming the belief that the year 1968 should be devoted to intensified efforts in the field of human rights and stressing the importance of implementing the principles of human rights in the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

The resolution then calls on members of the United Nations and its agencies and related organizations to take measures to prepare for Human Rights Year, *with special attention to the abolition* of racial discrimination and in particular, the policy of *apartheid.* It invites all member states to ratify, before 1968, the existing conventions concerning:

The abolition of Slavery and Slave Trade and Forced Labor; Discrimination in Respect to Employment and Occupation; Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers; Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize; Discrimination in Education; the Crime of Genocide; Political Rights of Women; and all forms of Racial Discrimination.

The U.N. resolution also decides to hasten the conclusion of the draft covenants concerning:

Civil and Political Rights; Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; Elimination of Religious Intolerance; and Freedom of Information.

We have good reason to expect that many of these conventions and covenants will contain clauses for compulsory submission to the World Court of disputes not settled by negotiation.

There is attached to the U.N. resolution an elaborate program of the Human Rights Commission for "ceremonies, activities and celebrations" to be undertaken in 1968 to "dramatize universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

The U.N. agencies will be working feverishly to have these conventions approved by the United States. Then the whole field of natural rights, including those set forth in our Bill of Rights, could become contractual rights with other nations.

As stated in the report of the New York City Bar Association Committee, "Under these conventions any signatory state apparently can object to another signatory state's treatment of its own national even though the national himself does not bring a claim in an appropriate proceeding under his own domestic law."

If this program were successful, it could subject our matters of race, religion, civil rights, education, freedom of speech—in fact, our most cherished human rights—to the danger of disintegration by World Court decisions in disputes brought by unfriendly powers.

The U.N. Human Rights program is a threat to our national freedom.

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Gloom in Demo Ranks

Election Returns Shatter Johnson 'Consensus'

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

President Johnson will never be the same again. We are not talking about his image. It remains fairly intact, having survived the election even if his Texas Stetson is askew. After all, he wasn't running for anything.

But LBJ will never again be the same old Lyndon. He lost his most cherished political possession in this election, one that he had great pride in, kept close to his chest 24 hours a day and which like a good luck charm had worked wonders for the President's sense of national well being.

What he lost is gone for good. It is the Johnson consensus—that slightly fraudulent but generally amazingly effective system aimed at national unity on all issues—and which the President developed so that often on a key showdown he could count on Republican support when Democratic support was hesitating.

Consensus had been the key to Johnson's success in the presidency. It was the instrument which provided him with the reputation of being the gol-darndest, smartest, smoothest and slickest presidential politician in history.

His consensus method of operation was a timely and imaginative enterprise. It simply took advantage of the fact that four million or more Republicans had deserted Barry Goldwater in 1964 and crossed over to vote for LBJ. Plus the fact that millions of independents—comprising the big swing vote in any election—had forgotten their GOP leanings two years ago and supported the Johnson-Humphrey ticket.

Consensus government appealed to these elements and was acceptable to rank-and-file Democrats as long as the party, under such rule, moved ahead popularly.

But now with one big horrific bang, the nation's voters have put LBJ back into his own party and confronted him with a solid, strong and powerful GOP opposition which cannot be seduced in Congress or out by Lyndon's consensus blandishments.

The very thought of consensus with Lyndon is suddenly repugnant to Republican leaders. So Johnson must face up to the problem of being a strictly Democratic party White House incumbent for the next two years, not a consensus President.

Let's admit it. It is like a fresh breath of air from out of the polling booths—of all places—to have this happen. Republicans will vote like Republicans in Congress. Democrats will vote like Democrats. It will be amazingly easy from now on to tell who is for Lyndon and who is against him.

And what could be more important is that finally the credibility gap between what this Administration says and does will be reduced. Under consensus, Johnson was forced, regardless of his inclinations to play both sides against the middle – an intricate, devious process which invariably left his motives uncertain, his great design cloudy and raised constantly the question of whether what he said was true or false.

Because Johnson has lost his consensus he must now, facing up to presidential 1968, find new and more partisan ways to protect his image. There is bound to be more accent on the so-called "great liberal causes." There is bound to be an even more excessive effort than in the past to project his image before the public.

Not only Democratic candidates took a beating last week—President Johnson's much-heralded "consensus" is also the worse for wear.

And there must be, as he well knows, a complete turnabout in national organization of his own party. For the last two years Johnson has been pulling the party strings while John Bailey and the regular team have seldom been able to get his ear or obtain guidance on tough party problems in various states.

The result has been a chaotic situation. Johnson at times has left the impression he didn't give a hoot in hell what happened to big-name party candidates in this election, and he was more interested in protecting himself from a GOP avalanche than rescuing deserving Democrats.

He could have gone to California in response to a frantic appeal from Gov. Pat Brown. That slight will not be forgotten in California. Neither will Michigan, Illinois and Massachusetts Democrats ever think as much of Lyndon for not answering the desperation appeals of G. Mennen Williams, Sen. Paul Douglas and Endicott Peabody—all of whom were defeated.

We say he could have gone. He was jumping all around his Texas ranch, talking, conferring, holding press conferences just as if he didn't have a tender polyp and a hernia lump in his side. There is only one answer to his refusal to respond to calls for aid. He had no intention of presiding at political funerals—and he knew all the Democratic patients were dying, so why not stay comfortably at the ranch with his image intact.

Oh sure, the President may well have thought he had done a tremendous job for party fortunes in the election by going to Manila and around the Pacific for 17 hectic days of foreign adulation. He might have thought that before the election returns poured in. If nothing else, they showed his flamboyant image-projecting journey had dud impact on voters.

It will be an interesting two years before the presidential election. There will be LBJ, in his daily chore of projecting himself. But what competition he is going to have for a change! That same image-making on a national scale is going to be copied and, if possible, outdone by that great array of GOP White House hopefuls—Reagan, Romney, Nixon, Hatfield—and, for that matter, probably Rockefeller.

State Dept. Continues to 'Exile' Otepka

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

We have never had a Dreyfuss case in this country, but the case of Otto Otepka has been hanging around for three years and it is a disgrace to the national government.

I am going back to Otepka, a subject I thought I had exhausted, because of fresh inspiration and some added information. The information came at a small dinner party where one of the guests was a State Department official. Usually names and tales belong together in a news story, but there are certain social amenities and I intend to mention as few persons as possible. This State Department officer said I should write more about Otepka because:

"Most Americans still don't know what has happened to this man. In a heavy-handed dictatorship the obnoxious person is mysteriously removed from circulation. He is ruthlessly exiled or imprisoned, usually without a trial, and always without any real chance to appeal the sentence. He is kept out of sight while his life ebbs away.

"The American disposition of Otepka is more refined but not less cruel. He has been separated from his work, forcibly wrenched from his lifetime career as a government security officer after serving under Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. He has been left to rot in isolation."

Otto Otepka, if you've forgotten, was the State Department's top evaluator on security matters. He is a broad-shouldered, dark-visaged, serious-minded fellow of stubborn integrity. Like Dreyfuss, he is a minority figure, not separated by race or creed, but by the shade of his opinions. He is one who takes the internal threat of the Communist conspiracy very seriously. Otepka also has the quaint concept of conscience that his oath to the country is a higher obligation than his inner-office "loyalty" to his bureaucratic superiors.

He got into trouble by jumping some channels at the State Department and giving a classified document to a Senate committee which had encouraged him to do just that. Since then he has had little to do except to make *pro forma* appearances at his office for a few minutes a day, and then sent off to wander around town—his life, his expertise, his morale, ebbing away.

Otto Otepka has been relegated to a "make-work" status in the State Department.

Stone walls do not his prison make, but he is the inmate of invisible cell blocks, in solitary confinement so far as access to the government is concerned, but occasionally dropping notes out the window to passersby.

That dinner party reminder of Otepka's ordeal, surely an inspiration to a journalist, led to my search for more information. I found it in a memo which, I suppose, should not have been made available to me, and I prefer to leave out the names of persons who might be injured by the implications. This is not their story. It is part of the Otepka story which, I think, has not been told.

Back in 1955 the under secretary of state for President Eisenhower was Herbert Hoover Jr., a man of retiring and sensitive nature. Mr. Hoover was security-conscious as well as being publicity-shy, and so he made no noise about a commendation he gave Otepka on a matter of psychological warfare recruitment.

One evening Otepka was asked to stay after hours on a confidential matter. An urgent evaluation was needed on the security of a prominent person who was under consideration for the Operations Coordinating Board, a group of hush-hush operations.

By working all night, Otepka produced a summary from CIA secret files which showed that the celebrity in question had been denied a position on a cold war strategy board because of "reservations" as to his "security reliability." The same CIA files showed the same person to have been ruled out for employment in the secretariat of the Air Force.

Otepka finished his research at 2 a.m., finished typing his report at 4:30 and turned it over to Under Secretary Hoover at 8:30 the same morning. It was a delicate matter, involving a well-known personality, and Mr. Hoover acted with characteristic tact. He declined to make the appointment, took the trouble to commend Otepka, and consigned the matter to the file-and-forget cabinet.

Twice more within the next five years the same name came up for an appointment, and twice more Otepka produced the same data. In 1961, under a new administration, he was overruled—and his decline and fall began.

It was ironic but, perhaps, inevitable. For now, Otepka is up against one of the obstacles that worked against Dreyfuss. The State Department, like the French army, cannot admit that Otepka is innocent of wrong-doing without condemning its own mistake. And that, without a lot of help from the press and the public, the State Department is not likely to do.

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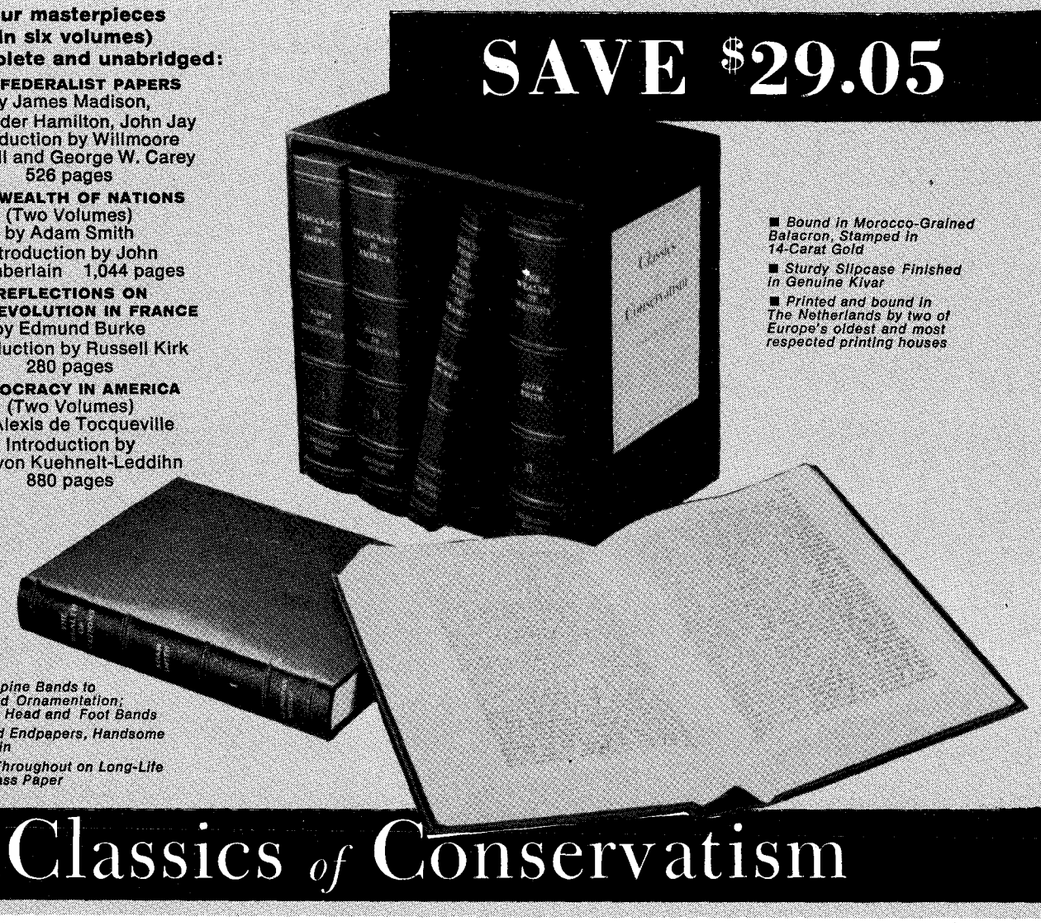

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